

THE CLAIM OF MAORI IDENTITY ON THE CULTURAL
STRUCTURE OF CHURCH AND SOCIETY
IN NEW ZEALAND

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Project Presented
to the Faculty of the
School of Theology at Claremont

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Ministry

by
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PREFACE

This project focuses on the Maori's struggle for identity, self-determination and justice in their encounter with the Christian Church in New Zealand. This struggle has been and continues to be an important feature of Maori-Pakeha relations in New Zealand.

My purpose in writing this project is two-fold. I have sought to increase my own understanding of a problem about which I was vaguely aware but insufficiently informed. Secondly, I am keen to share my discoveries with others, particularly New Zealanders, in the hope that a deeper sensitivity to Maori needs will emerge. I believe important unresolved problems have been unearthed in the course of my research. Their adequate resolution is a task which we Christians must face in the future.

In some respects, my investigation uncovered unanticipated dimensions of the problem with which I began. Initially, it seemed to me that the key issue was the subversion of Maori cultural identity under the impact of the Christian missions and their legacy in the contemporary Church. Increasingly, however, my investigation showed that identity could not be considered apart from the question of social justice which it eventually raises. Important issues concerning justice for the

Maori people are therefore identified in the course of the discussion but they remain to be more adequately addressed in future research.

Paradoxically, identity involves the need for separation and the need for inclusion. On the one hand, the Maori people are seeking greater freedom to celebrate and express their faith in their own way. Yet, in the history of the Church in New Zealand, they have been consistently denied that freedom. This explains the indigenous Maori religious movements and the concern, today, with evolving a style of Christian thought and activity which springs spontaneously from Maori cultural life.

On the other hand, it is apparent that the structures of Church and Society need to be more inclusive of the Maori people. This is where justice becomes an explicit concern. For identity signifies more than discovering what it means to be a Maori Christian or a Maori citizen. Beyond this, it involves their ability to shape their lives and participate in formulating the policies of Church and State which affect them. Eventually, then, the struggle for identity embraces a struggle for power.

Separateness and inclusion, therefore, must be held in creative tension as complementary features of

Maori identity. Without a degree of separateness, the Maori identity is assimilated into the Pakeha cultural mainstream; without inclusion, which ensures them an active role in shaping their destiny, the Maori people are isolated from significant participation in New Zealand life.

My hope is that this project will be a useful instrument in the avenue of professional ministry which I commence upon completing my studies here at Claremont. Shortly I assume responsibilities as the Director of Christian Education for the Baptist churches of New Zealand. Part of my task will be to locate or create educational resources for use in our churches. I see this project as providing the basis for one such resource. In an edited form, and supplemented by a study guide, hopefully it can become a means of enabling Christians to become more fully aware of the needs of the Maori people who are citizens of our country and, in some cases, members of our churches.

In short, therefore, I have used this opportunity in writing my professional project to create an educational resource for use in my ministry.

I should frankly acknowledge the limitation implicit in being a Pakeha student writing, in part, about the Maori people. However, I do not believe my Pakeha

status totally disqualifies my research or opinions, although it inevitably shapes the perspective from which the project is written. I must accept full responsibility for any misunderstanding or misinterpretation of Maori views or feelings. Before using this project, I intend to discuss it with Maori scholars who can correct distortions and point out oversights and omissions. Ideally, I would like to use this project as the raw material for an educational resource which could combine my research and insights with those of a Maori.

English rather than American spelling has been used throughout this project because most of the quotations were from New Zealand texts. These texts used English spelling and to have adopted American spelling in the script of the project would have led to a lack of uniformity throughout.

I would like to acknowledge the assistance of my two advisers, Dr Douglass and Dr Freudemberger at the School of Theology. Their constructive criticisms of the earlier drafts have helped me to produce a much better manuscript. Certain persons in New Zealand were helpful in terms of suggestions, interviews and data gathering. These included the Rev. Murray Beck, the Rev. Trevor Donnell (both Baptist ministers associated with Polynesian work), the Rev. Angus MacLeod (General Secretary of the National Council of Churches) and Mr Gnanasunderam (Director of the N.C.C. department of Church and Society.)

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ABSTRACT

The project investigates, as its central problem, the failure of the Church and the Society in New Zealand to be sufficiently responsive to the Maori need for justice, self-determination and a distinctive cultural identity.

The development of the problem is traced from the period of the earliest contact between the Maori (New Zealand's indigenous people) and the missionaries. It is identified in the past history and present structure of both Church and Society within New Zealand.

The research is based on primary and secondary source literature available in New Zealand in the disciplines of history, sociology, ethnology, anthropology and theology. It is supplemented by interviews conducted in New Zealand.

The argument based on that research claims that the monoculturalism present within earliest missionary policy and practice gradually formed the basis for the structures of the New Zealand Church as well as its social order. This has led to institutions which are insensitive to the claims of non-European cultures, including the Maori, upon them. Thus, neither Church or Society is structured, in New Zealand, in a fashion which is amenable to the

full expression of Maori identity. Moreover, since the structures favour New Zealand's white residents, the Maori is less able to participate in the opportunities and/or responsibilities of being a New Zealander than whites. Accordingly, monoculturalism also limits the Maori's access to justice and self-determination.

Since monoculturalism has become embedded in the structures of Church and Society in New Zealand, this project works toward the thesis (and conclusion) that structural changes are an urgent item requiring attention on the Church's agenda of concerns. Nothing short of a renovation of the institutions in New Zealand's society will produce the multi-culturalism which must form the basis of all its social structures. But the transformation of structures assumes an awareness, among New Zealanders, of their present discriminatory character. This project seeks to stimulate such an awareness, in the hope that it will motivate the kinds of changes which it considers to be necessary.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

THE PROBLEM

The Statement of the Problem

The New Zealand Church has been and still is insufficiently sensitive to the Maori need for justice, self-determination and a distinctive cultural identity.

The Importance of the Problem

The problem has historical roots which bear on the present situation. Historically, it has obliged the Maori people to disassociate themselves from much of their heritage and to accept the assumption that European cultural forms are inherently superior. It has involved the partial loss of Maori identity. European emissaries of the Gospel have consistently failed adequately to distinguish between those characteristics of Maori culture which the Christian faith would authentically challenge and those which simply offend the English sense of propriety. It has contributed to a distorted picture of the Gospel in the eyes of the Maori who have often

been encouraged to see it as more opposed to "things Maori" than it really is. This, in turn, must limit the Gospel's appeal to their people.

The problem has also permitted Europeans to overlook the fact that Christ judges all cultures, including their own. It has blinded them to the sin they have committed in elevating their own culture into an absolute, thus exalting to eternal status something which is merely of temporal significance. European colonisers and missionaries have often failed to acknowledge the relative nature of all cultural forms, even as they failed to recognise many positive features in Maori culture, some of which reflect the Gospel more faithfully than their own distinctive traits.

In the contemporary context, the problem frustrates the Church's true purpose inasmuch as it subordinates cultural elements which deviate from the Pakeha norms. The Church is less than it is supposed to be when some of its members are not actively encouraged to celebrate the Gospel in terms of their own cultural style. The problem blocks true unity; for union presupposes harmony among the parts, and there can be no harmony when paternalism and subordination exist.

For the Maori, a matter of identity and justice is at stake. They cannot fully identify with something which is not truly their own. Imposed structures

involve the intrusion of something essentially alien.

The problem functions to disguise the facets of the Gospel which the European cultural perspective prevents the Church from seeing, but which the Maori culture could help it rediscover. An example is the Maori understanding of community and corporate personality which Western individualism obscures from the European (and Pakeha) Church's vision.

Finally, the problem blunts the Church's awareness of the detrimental impact which Pakeha-dominated (Church and State) structures have upon Maori welfare and corporate identity, in the wider community, as well as within the Church.

THE RESOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM

The Thesis

The problem can be overcome as Christians become more aware of past failures and present shortcomings in Church policy and performance with respect to Maori cultural identity and social justice and to the extent that they demonstrate a willingness to take appropriate action to redress them.

The Implications of the Thesis

Pakeha Christians must surrender an assumption they have held and lived by, sometimes consciously,

sometimes unconsciously, that their Western heritage and numerical superiority is a mandate for moral supremacy. We must come to terms with the realities and responsibilities of living in a multi-cultural society in which persons and groups are culturally diverse in their requirements and their ways.

The promotion of awareness must point up the historical dimensions of the problem which have helped to contribute to and shape its current manifestations. The history is more than background. It lives in current attitudes, stored-up feelings, accumulated resentments and in contemporary injustices which are the legacy of past decisions and policies. The historical analysis is intended to feature the more enlightened moments as well as the less honourable. A great deal of history-writing is unfair to the missions. This analysis intends to convey, above all, that the history of the problem is complex and refuses to submit to simplistic formulas. Good intentions and prejudiced motives have combined to colour the background of the problem presently under scrutiny.

The Preconditions for the Resolution of the Problem

Understanding is a basic pre-condition. It will come partly from illumining the past, yet partly, too, from a sensitive engagement between the races in the present.

Beyond understanding, the problem is seated in

a crisis of the human will: the willingness to see things as they are, the willingness to seek forgiveness for past failures, the willingness to change, the willingness to take appropriate remedial action, the willingness to work with the Maori people rather than simply for them, thus preventing a relapse into new forms of paternalism.

Another precondition for the resolution of the problem concerns the need to focus on the irrational sources of prejudice and paternalism. People are unlikely to respond to a purely intellectual appeal because the attitudes which this project is interested in changing have more than a purely intellectual basis. Accordingly, it is not enough to encourage people to become better informed. For beneath the level of reason are the irrational impulses about which St. Paul wrote [Romans 7:14ff] prompting people to harbour attitudes and feelings which are prejudicial and paternalistic toward Maoris, despite their own better judgement. The problem under scrutiny in this paper can only be overcome to the extent that the stubborn resistance to change grounded in irrational impulses is adequately acknowledged and addressed.

In order to overcome the problem, people must be encouraged to see a vision beyond the statistics of injustice and the historical commentary on cultural subordination. For beyond the dimensions of the problem accessible to rational enquiry are the qualitative features which

furnish the vision necessary to lure people beyond the difficulties toward the possibilities. This vision is coloured by the Christian qualities of love and self-sacrifice which comprise it.

More specifically, St. Paul has provided a useful metaphor which gives the vision concrete form in terms of the Church. The analogy of the body and the members establishes a new norm to replace the benevolent paternalism which marked a great deal of missionary activity. In terms of his vision, the effective functioning of the whole body is diminished when some members are barred from full participation [I Corinthians 12:12ff]. All members are equally indispensable to the whole. The Body of Christ, the Church, cannot fulfill its destiny when some of its members are prevented from contributing their distinctive functions.

In the Church of today, the problem under scrutiny in this project will be overcome to the extent that every person feels related to the deity, not as an object of charity, helpful as that may be; nor as children of cultures which stand at variant distances from his presence, but as children of God, equal before him and in relation to each other.

To affirm that all are equal before God is a spiritual assertion. To translate this equality into the practice of the Church is its ecclesiastical corollary.

To transform society in conformity with this spiritual affirmation is its logical outcome.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Christian Church

Christianity in this study is understood as a quality of living, a mode of being and a pattern of relating which centres on Jesus Christ as the unique disclosure of what God is like and what he expects of and offers humanity.

The Church is understood as the visible symbol of Christ's presence and activity in the world. It is the community which is called to be obedient to Christ.

In this project, except where explicit references indicate to the contrary, "Church" is understood as the Ecumenical Church. "Ecumenical Church" in this discussion refers to the worldwide body of persons who collectively acknowledge the claim of the Lordship of Christ upon their community and who seek to embody love of God and neighbour above and beyond any sectional considerations which might divide them. Ecumenicity refers to that common bond of Christian fellowship and purpose which transcends the structural and individual differences within the Universal Church.

Culture

Culture will be defined as that dimension of the human experience acquired and transmitted socially which centres on human values, religion, lifestyles, emotional attachments, intellectual pursuits or artistic expression.

It is acknowledged that sub-cultures may and do exist within larger groups which may have certain general cultural traits in common. Culture, moreover, is greater than the sum of its parts. It has an "accumulated subjective value for its participants."¹

Civilisation

Civilisation will be taken to refer to the technological dimension of culture. Thus, architecture, for instance, may reflect the artistic style of a people while tools will be one concrete manifestation of their way of life and worship sanctuaries are a part of their religion.²

¹ E.A. Nida, Customs and Cultures (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954), p. 30; see also T.S. Elliot, Notes Toward the Definition of Culture (New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1949), p. 39.

² I owe this distinction between "civilisation" and "culture" to X.S. Thani-Nayagam, "Religion and Culture" Religious and Social Issues, IV (November, 1975), pp. 1-13.

Thani Nayagam points out how culture, unlike civilisation, cannot be measured in utilitarian terms. It is possible, for instance, to argue that the tractor is superior to the wooden plough whereas one cannot as easily assert that modern plays are better than Greek drama.

Many of the missionaries and colonisers in the nineteenth century assigned a connotation of advancement and refinement to the word "civilisation". For them, civilisation was something which Europeans had and the Maori lacked.

Acculturation

A prominent theme in this study is the process of interaction between the Maori and the Pakeha cultures and the changes which resulted from it. Acculturation is the term used for the influence each culture had upon the other.

Undoubtedly, the Maori people have surrendered most in the context of this interaction. Pakeha appropriation of Maori ways has been, on the whole, more superficial than the influence Pakehas, themselves, have had on the Maori.

However, acculturation is not a simple one-way process by which some static, pre-historic entity known as "Maori culture" has been progressively eroded under Western impact. This is a false understanding which assumes that Maori culture is a collection of artifacts which must somehow be preserved. It robs the term of any dynamic or living qualities.

From the Maori standpoint, acculturation has meant a process whereby their people have, under Western

influence abandoned some ideas and practices while adapting others.

Pakeha

This is a Maori term, now widely accepted as part of the English language. It has been used, at least since the 1820s to refer to persons of European descent. More precisely, it usually refers to white people who are also New Zealanders.

Maori

The word "Maori", meaning, literally, "ordinary" or "usual" was first employed by the Maori people to themselves after the arrival of the Westerners, in order to distinguish themselves as a separate people.

Intermarriage among the races has complicated the problem of defining a Maori today. There are, in fact, a variety of legal definitions.³ This project uses the subjective definition reflected in the census figures which includes all those who identify themselves as Maori. It is the felt affinity with Maoriness which ultimately

³In theory, official statistics recognise as "Maori" any person who is half caste or of mixed blood between half caste and pure descent. However, self-declaration of one's racial credentials is taken at face value - hence the subjectivity in the definition. In some Acts of Parliament (e.g. certain welfare laws) "Maori" can mean any descendant of a Maori, irrespective of "Maori blood" - i.e. even if one is less than half-caste.

shapes the Maori response to the European presence and involvement in New Zealand life.

Ethnically, the Maori people are Polynesians who came to New Zealand from Eastern Polynesia in a series of migrations between the tenth and fourteenth centuries A.D. Currently, they comprise about 8% of the population, constituting the largest single ethnic minority.⁴

Maori Culture

In developing her general view that culture is a "system of symbols and meanings in terms of which a particular group of people make sense of their world, communicate with each other and plan and live their lives" Joan Metge proceeds to define "Maori culture as 'the system of symbols and meaning shared by those who identify themselves as Maoris at any given time.'"⁵

Maori culture is a dynamic reality. Development has always been a feature of it, even before Western contact. Thus, not all cultural change is Europeanisation.

⁴New Zealand Official Yearbook (Wellington: Government Printer, 1975), p. 84. For further discussion of the problems of defining a Maori see J. Metge, The Maoris of New Zealand (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976), pp.39-42.

⁵Metge, p. 45.

Maori culture is a contemporary (as well as an historical) phenomenon and no mere survival from traditional times.

Maori culture always has taken, and continues to assume a variety of forms at any given time. The migrations of Polynesians occurred randomly at different times over several centuries. Moreover, regional differences have led to different patterns of cultural evolution. Heterogeneity persists today, reflecting tribal differences, variations between urban and rural dwellers, young and old, levels of educational attainment and many other factors. It is, in fact, difficult to define a Maori norm today.

Maori culture includes ways and beliefs borrowed and developed in association with Pakeha people such as pastoral farming, wage earning, Christianity and football. Thus, while some traits would be recognisable as characteristically "Pakeha" or "Maori" there remains a large area of shared cultural heritage and pursuits. Even here, however, the Maori and the Pakeha will tend to approach this cultural middle ground from the unique standpoint of his or her own cultural perspective. There are different ways of seeing and understanding even those values and

things which the two races have in common.⁶

The Maori people prefer to speak of "Maoritanga" rather than "Maori culture" when referring to things distinctively Maori. "Maoritanga", roughly translated "Maoriness" is difficult to define. Metge, however, found certain features were commonly associated with it. These included more tangible things such as language, attachment to ancestral land, a particular approach to kinship, the Maori marae (meeting place) and the holding of hui (Maori social gatherings).⁷ More recently, Maori writers have emphasised the importance of a religious dimension in any adequate understanding of Maoritanga. Maori Marsden, for instance, defines Maoritanga as "the corporate view that Maoris hold about ultimate reality and meaning."⁸ This religious dimension is far more crucial to an adequate understanding of Maori culture than it would be for a grasp of Pakeha culture. However, it has very little to do with organised religion but concerns,

⁶Metge, pp. 44-7.

⁷Metge, p. 49.

⁸M. Marsden, "God, Man and Universe: a Maori View", in M. King(ed), Te Ao Hurihuri (Wellington: Hicks, Smith and Sons, 1975), p. 192. Metge has expanded her description of Maoritanga in her 1976 revision of The Maoris of New Zealand to include greater recognition of this religious dimension.

rather, the "strong tendency to discern a will in nature."⁹ Other abstract qualities such as mana or the distinctive understanding of time are also part of Maoritanga.

PREVIOUS WORK IN THE FIELD

The work of historians, sociologists, anthropologists and even theologians forms a foundation upon which this project builds.

Three areas of historical enquiry are notable for their pertinence to this project. One focuses explicitly on the nature, dynamics and implications of the cultural encounter between missionaries and Maoris, particularly in the pre-1840 period. The works of Binney, Owens and Wright are of special value here.¹⁰ Secondly, there are historical investigations focusing on Maori religious attitudes and behaviour. Henderson's work on the Ratana movement is the most notable. Official or semi-official mission histories provide useful background and sometimes furnish as much information about the perspectives of their authors as they do on the subject matter they address. The works by Neill and Laurenson, along with the official history of the Church Missionary Society are notable source

⁹E. Schwimmer, (ed.), The Maori People in the Nineteen-Sixties (Auckland: Longman Paul, 1968), p. 49.

¹⁰See Bibliography for the works of authors mentioned in this section.

materials.

Another major category of work previously done in this field is the literature which explicitly examines the culture and customs of the Maori people from the standpoint of ethnology, anthropology and sociology. Although studies of this type have never been scarce since the First World War, the last fifteen years have produced an abundance of useful and reliable scholarship which has formed a foundation upon which this project has built. Major authors in this category are listed in the Bibliography under the sub-heading "Anthropological and Sociological Literature".

There is now a significant collection of studies which have explicitly addressed the issue of Maori religious attitudes, affiliations and practices. The scholarship of J.J. Mol, H. Mol and P. de Bres have formed a useful point of departure for the investigation undertaken in this project.

The quantity of material which deals with Christian theology from a Maori perspective is still small, although R. Rakena's booklet provides some perceptive observations and incisive questions which have informed the structure of chapter seven, in particular.

The most promising trend, in terms of work currently available in the field, is the increase in literature written by Maori authors. Apart from Rakena's work, two anthologies are of special significance. Caselberg has

collected Maori writings from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries while King's volume offers valuable insights into how Maoris are thinking and feeling today about issues which affect them.

Finally, special mention should be made of the work of those editors who have collected important primary source material, particularly from the early part of the nineteenth century, and presented it in a form readily accessible to the reader. Their work is listed in the Bibliography under the heading "Primary Sources".

This project uses these materials as a foundation for a focused enquiry into the issue of Maori identity within the Church. One of its contributions is to draw together resource material in one study, thus presenting the reader with an overview of relevant research. However, beyond this, and more importantly, this project seeks to move beyond analysis and description to elaborate a vision for the future of Maori-Pakeha relations in the Church. The vision seeks to elicit from Pakeha Christians a commitment to a Church within which distinctively Maori ways of expressing and celebrating their faith are acknowledged, affirmed and encouraged. It works toward a recognition of multi-culturalism as a phenomenon which deepens and enriches the quality of life in the Christian community. The vision finds Maoris experiencing freedom

to be Christian in their own way while participating as equals in shaping the ministry of the Church and the affairs of the nation.

Third, this project seeks to contribute to the realisation of the vision it portrays by furnishing the kind of consciousness-raising instrument which can motivate people to change.

LIMITATIONS

The scope of this enquiry is limited geographically to New Zealand. Similar approaches in different contexts may prove useful, but no claim is made that the conclusions arrived at in this study can reliably be transferred to another setting without modification.

Similarly, anthropological and sociological insights are usually limited to studies in these disciplines which have been undertaken in the New Zealand setting.

There are significant numbers of Polynesians in New Zealand who are not Maoris. Their needs and situation are sufficiently different so that comments made about Maori-Pakeha relations do not necessarily apply to them. This study does not, therefore, address the wider Polynesian question, except where it bears directly on Maori-Pakeha relations.

There is an inevitable limitation inherent in the fact that a Pakeha is addressing issues which partly affect the Maori people. Of course, there is no reason why Pakehas need be totally silent on subjects about which Maoris have special insights and knowledge. However, certain disadvantages are unavoidable, and they are readily acknowledged.

An investigation of the claims of Maori identity on the Church, such as the one undertaken in this project, leads ultimately to questions of social justice. The importance of the justice issue became increasingly apparent as the project developed. It has been raised because an adequate treatment of the question of Maori identity cannot avoid it. However, a comprehensive discussion of it would involve considerably more research and writing than the scope of this project would allow. Consequently, the relationship between identity and justice has been opened (in the final chapter) but not explored in depth. This project does not therefore claim to deal with the challenge of justice for the Maori in any full or comprehensive manner.

METHODOLOGY

The method employed in this project was to combine fairly intensive research in the relevant literature

with interviews of key Christian leaders. In evaluating material accessible to me, my own experience and observations as a New Zealander were helpful. I returned to New Zealand during the month of July, 1976, in order to conduct some of the research and interviews as well as to gather data. Particular emphasis was placed on primary source material in the historical investigation.

I have tried to weigh evidence fairly, feeling in many cases that both pro- and anti-missionary polemics have frequently led to claims which outrun available evidence. With respect to contemporary opinion, there is a need to modify the extravagant arguments of those who would idealise Maori culture as well as the simplistic assumptions of those New Zealanders (of both races) who subscribe to the myth that the common bond of New Zealand citizenship erases all distinctive cultural barriers or ties.

In the last analysis, then, there remains a subjective element in this project, influencing the assumptions I have commenced with and the direction in which I have pushed the investigation. These subjective features are most clearly elaborated in the Preface and the Conclusions of the project.

OUTLINE

The project is presented in two parts.

Part One traces the history of the problem under investigation. Following a brief analysis of the context for the cultural encounter on the eve of the first mission (chapter 2), it continues with an examination of the encounter itself, assessing the impact of the missions on the Maori people (chapter 3). Chapter 4 examines the creative response offered by the Maori people as embodied in the Maori religious movements which appeared between 1860 and 1920.

Part Two focuses on the contemporary form of the problem and suggests ways in which it might be overcome. Chapter 5 leads out with a summary of how the legacy of the history of the problem affects the present situation and combines this with a word of challenge from Bangkok and Nairobi with respect to Christianity and local cultures. Attention then falls (in chapter 6) on the factors affecting Maori cultural identity today, relating them to the Church, and emphasising the complexity of the problem while warning against simplistic solutions.

Finally, the project suggests what the resolution of the problem might involve. It does this first (in chapter 7), by exploring what a fuller expression of Maori cultural identity might mean within the Church

and then, secondly, (in chapter 8) what it requires of the Church in the wider community, particularly in relation to certain social questions of importance to Maori welfare.

Chapter 2

THE CONTEXT FOR THE CULTURAL ENCOUNTER

It is important to understand the setting from which the missionaries came and the situation which prevailed where they went.

THE ENGLISH SETTING

The Church

Evangelical revival in the Protestant churches had, from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, initiated a movement which had gravitated from the lower classes of society upward. It was individualistic in temper, accompanied by strict personal discipline and connected with humanitarian concerns. The fight against the slave trade, one of its most notable achievements, had aroused interest in the spiritual wellbeing of the African Negroes on whose behalf the Evangelicals had campaigned. To meet this newly perceived need, the Church Missionary Society was founded in 1799 by the Anglican Church, and it was this Society which launched the first mission to New Zealand in 1814.

Humanitarianism

Humanitarian groups and Christian Societies often worked in close association and both combined to oppose

plans for systematic colonisation of New Zealand, fearing, correctly, that Maori interests would be subordinated in the process.

However, noble goals did not always materialise into actual accomplishments. "Pity and sentiment provided the initial dynamic of humanitarianism and set limits to its capabilities."¹ It tended to produce paternalism and to diminish the degree of attention paid to the concrete means of implementing visionary goals.

Individualism

Individualism was receiving, in Britain, fresh impetus and sharper focus from advocates such as Bentham and Mill while it was also being appropriated to serve the rising political aspirations of the middle class. Along with the utilitarian ethic which accompanied it, individualism was to prove an inappropriate ideological basis upon which to establish a dialogue with a Maori people nurtured on collectivist principles.

The missionaries can perhaps be forgiven for failing to recognise the revolutionary implications of introducing an individualistic ethos into a society which operated along totally different lines. At home

¹K. Sinclair, The Origins of the Maori Wars (Wellington: New Zealand University Press, 1957), p. 23.

their Gospel, while it changed individuals did not disrupt society. Transplanted, however, into a community based on different assumptions, it was nothing short of subversive, with respect to local culture in New Zealand.

Imperialism

Britain stood, by 1800, at the heart of a vast Empire which it had created. However, New Zealand did not become a British colony until 1840, twenty-six years after the missionary enterprise began. Even then, the British Government only stepped in reluctantly after Wakefield's "New Zealand Company" had proceeded with its plans for colonisation without Government sanction in 1839. The Government felt that a mediating presence between the Maori and the settlers was required, particularly over the land question. They sought to insure that all land sales should proceed through the Crown. The failure to execute this plan with full success was an important cause of the Colonial Wars in the 1860s between the Maori people and the settlers encroaching on their land.

THE NEW ZEALAND SETTING

The Western Presence

Abel Tasman, the Dutch explorer was the first European to "discover" New Zealand, arriving there in

1642. His initiative was not followed up until the arrival of the English navigator, James Cook in 1769. Explorers, whalers, sealers and traders had intermittent contacts with the Maori people after that. In short, commercial interests preceded religious ones.

The Church Missionary Society led the missionary effort in 1814 but was joined in 1822 by the Methodists and by a Roman Catholic mission from France in 1838.

Secular European interests were maintained and expanded alongside the missionary presence after 1814, the date of the first settled population. At that time, the total white population of New Zealand lived in the Bay of Islands and numbered 21 persons, all of whom were associated with the Church Missionary Society.² This figure had doubled by 1819 and trebled by 1830.³

Among the European residents, missionaries predominated numerically until the 1830s, while during that decade they became increasingly outnumbered by settlers pursuing secular interests. Henry Williams, one of the leading Anglican missionaries after 1824 estimated the non-missionary white population at "not fewer than

²S. Marsden, The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden ed. by J.R. Elder, (Dunedin: Coulls, Somerville and Wilkie, 1932), p. 140.

³H. Wright, New Zealand: 1769-1840 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 26. The later figure includes 20 adults and 40 children.

1,100" in 1839 while he counted 206 persons in the Anglican and Methodist missions.⁴

While this project will highlight some of the ways in which the missionaries were critical of the Maori civilisation and culture it is important to recognise that they were scarcely less critical of their own race, when such criticism seemed warranted. Marsden, for instance, was critical of the white settlement at Kororareka (now Russell) where "drunkenness, adultery [and] murder are committed.... Satan maintains his dominion without molestation."⁵ Lest one is tempted to dismiss Marsden's observations as the jaundiced judgement of a puritan mind, it is instructive to add the impressions of other non-missionary white settlers concerning residents at Kororareka. F.E. Maning described them as

a sort of nest of English, Irish, Scotch, Dutch, French and American runaways from the South Sea whalers, with whom were also congregated certain other individuals of the Pakeha race, whose manner of arrival in the country was not clearly accounted for, and to enquire into which was considered extremely impolite.... They lived in a half-savage state...being greater savages by far than the natives themselves. ⁶

Lawlessness, too, seemed to prevail, to the extent that

⁴Letter from Henry Williams, January 11, 1839 in Church Missionary Record (December, 1839), p. 288.

⁵S. Marsden p. 523.

⁶F.E. Maning, Old New Zealand (Wellington: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1906 - Originally published 1863), pp.4-5.

"everyone did as he liked, except when his neighbours would not let him (the more shame for them)."⁷

Maori Population and Culture

Although estimates vary, it is thought that the Maori population in 1769 numbered about 200,000. What is more certain is that there was a significant population decline as a result of fighting and disease so that, by 1840, it had shrunk to 125,000.⁸

Structurally, Maori society was divided into tribes, subtribes (hapu) and, within these again, extended families (whanau). Many of these tribes exhibited distinct cultural characteristics. Land was the most prized tribal possession and was held collectively.

The principal chief (ariki) was the key tribal figure and, under him, were further classes of chief (rangatira). Lower in the social scale were commoners (tutua) and slaves - mostly prisoners of war rather than members of a set caste.

The Maori were animists and their religion was polytheistic, having gods (atua) for the major departments of life such as agriculture and war. While the Maori shared some gods in common, other gods were tribal. A primary

⁷Maning, p. 1.

⁸Wright, pp. 11,101.

concern was to please the gods, and a pattern of regulations and habits emerged to facilitate this process, such as the traditional form of prohibition known as tapu.⁹ Priests (tohungas) mediated between the gods and the ordinary people. They, too, were divided into classes of varying power and status.

Ancestor worship played an important part in the religious life of the Maori.¹⁰ Accordingly, special significance centred on the ceremony for the burial of the dead, the tangi. The Maori believed that the spirit (wairua) of all dead persons travelled to Spirit Land (Hawai-ki) where it lived eternally, surrounded by kinsfolk. There was no differentiation in the spirit world along moral lines. Inasmuch as images played a part in Maori life, they were associated more with ancestor worship than the religious cults which are relatively free of idols.

Kinship was the social glue which held Maori society together and it is to be understood in its broadest possible sense. It relates not only to individuals, but

⁹The word "atu" can also mean Spirit. It is distinguished from wairua which more nearly approximates the idea of "soul" (although perhaps without necessarily having the connotation of disembodiment) or "human spirit".

¹⁰In Maori culture, it is probably not strictly accurate to separate "religious" from "secular" since their view of reality was more integrated.

also to birds, animals, fish and even some of the elements such as the winds and the waves.

Perhaps the most important single feature of Maori culture, even today, is mana. This is a difficult word to translate. It means more than prestige. It is a psychic force imparting authority and control.¹¹ Important people or tribes have a great deal of it while less significant persons or groups have virtually none. Many Maori battles originated in contests over mana, although wars also had more utilitarian purposes such as the contest for lands or hunting grounds.¹²

Pre-European Cultural Change

Important changes had occurred in Maori culture before the arrival of the first missionary in 1814.

In the first place, the process of adapting to a new geographical environment led Maori culture to deviate considerably from the Polynesian norms of the Pacific Islands from which they came.¹³

¹¹E. Schwimmer, (ed.), The Maori People of the Nineteen-Sixties (Auckland: Longman Paul, 1968), p. 357.

¹²This outline is extremely sketchy. For further data, the reader is referred to the sources from which the above information was drawn, especially, E. Schwimmer, The World of the Maori (Wellington: Reed, 1966); P. Buck, Anthropology and Religion (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939).

¹³See P. Buck, Vikings of the Pacific (Chicago: University Press, 1959), pp. 283-89.

Secondly, one writer has argued persuasively that traders and sailors had had a profoundly disruptive effect upon the Maori people in the fifty years after the arrival of James Cook. What the missionaries found, according to Miller, "was not normal Maori life as it had been lived for centuries,...but anarchy."¹⁴ He claims that as a result of stimulus from traders, explorers and sailors "the old system was dying and something was needed to take its place."¹⁵ The missionary was thus faced with offering a new way of life to one which was already dying.

The importance of Miller's observation is that it identifies non-missionary white settlers and visitors as significant agents in undermining traditional Maori values. The missionaries, then, were not the only persons responsible for effecting changes in Maori society. A persuasive case can be made for the view that secular interests were more harmful than religious ones, particularly when Miller's observations about pre-1814 white contact are taken into account alongside the large scale seizure of Maori land in the 1840s and '50s by the settlers. Any observations about Maori-missionary interaction must be placed in this larger context of settler-Maori contact.

¹⁴H. Miller, New Zealand (London: Hutchinson, 1950), p.14.

¹⁵Miller, p. 14.

SUMMARY

The Evangelical Church championed a missionary enterprise which demonstrated benevolent concern toward the Maori people, but the relationship was tempered by their paternalistic approach. This kept the Maori subservient, even when their interests were being defended.

British imperialism tended to favour the Maori people more than it harmed them, but British individualism exerted a corrosive effect on the communal structure of Maori society. This was the thin edge of the wedge which was to drive an ever-widening gap between the Gospel which the Maoris felt impelled to accept and their own cultural ties which they were reluctant to sever.

The terms of the interaction between missionary and Maori were such that the British version of the Christian Gospel stood opposed to ("heathen") Maori culture. This fact was to cause a fundamental split in the Maori personality with respect to the Christian faith. It is a split which has not been adequately overcome to this day.

Chapter 3

THE IMPACT OF THE MISSIONS

This chapter examines the nature of the interaction between Maori and missionary. It focuses particularly on the influence which the Christian Gospel and Maori culture exerted on each other. An opening section presents missionary policy. This is followed by sections which explore the nature and dynamics of the encounter between Maori and missionary.

THE POLICY OF THE MISSIONS

Civilisation and the Gospel

According to Samuel Marsden, the inauguration of the Church Missionary Society mission in New Zealand was the "signal for the dawn of civilisation in that dark and benighted land."¹ Marsden was one of those who believed that civilising the Maori was a necessary preparation for their conversion.

¹ S. Marsden, The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden ed. by J.R. Elder, (Dunedin: Coulls, Somerville and Wilkie, 1932), p. 93.

However, if civilising the Maori was important, it was only a means to an end. "I do not mean", Marsden explained, "that a native should learn to build a Hut or make an Axe before he should be told anything about Man's Fall and Redemption."² He intended that Maoris should be taught the "Simple Arts" by persons who could share the Gospel with them in the context of the daily chores.

Civilisation and Christianisation were, for Marsden, part of a vast developmental scheme. At the most basic and technical level, he was concerned to lift the Maori out of the Stone Age. "Without iron", he asserted, "these people can never rise above their present impoverished situation."³ From here, Marsden anticipated a sequence whereby iron implements would enable the Maori people to acquire civil comforts. This, in turn, would stimulate greater industriousness which would

lay a solid foundation for their progressive social and mental improvement in the arts of civilisation, and in that which is the grand and most important object of all, saving knowledge of Christianity. ⁴

²Letter to Josiah Pratt, April 7, 1808 in S. Marsden, Marsden and the New Zealand Mission ed. by P. Havard-Williams, (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 1961), p. 15. The peculiar use of capitals is Marsden's.

³Marsden, The Letters and Journals.... p. 130.

⁴From Marsden's Journals [1814] in R. MacNab (ed.), Historical Records of New Zealand (Wellington: Government Printer, 1908), I. 399.

The Reversal of Priorities

In reality, Marsden's vision did not materialise. The Maoris proved stubbornly unresponsive to the missionaries' civilising efforts. By 1822, one observer complained that "The Maori seem to love none of our ways....I think the Gospel will prove the only means of civilising the heathen... I say Evangelisation precedes Civilisation."⁵

Henry Williams, who arrived in 1823 to assume leadership of the Church Missionary Society soon concurred, concluding that "too much stress had been placed on secular efforts." The Maori are "perishing for lack of knowledge, but not the knowledge of making nails or planting corn."⁶ Official policy shifted under his leadership. The accent fell on learning the Maori language and producing a Bible, in Maori.

The early missionaries, then, perceived the civilising and evangelising tasks as related. They differed mainly over whether civilisation was the basis for the Gospel or the product of it. What they did not anticipate was the radical extent of the impact of their goals, methods

⁵J. Shepherd to Marsden [1822] and to the C.M.S. [1822] in W & J Williams, The Turanga Journals ed. by F. Procter, (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1974).p.43.

⁶Unpublished Journals of Henry and Mariane Williams entry on April 1, 1826, Auckland Public Library.

and policies would have on the Maori people.

THE NATURE OF THE IMPACT

The Pursuit of a Relationship Model

From the beginning, there was some difference of opinion as to how best to relate to Maori culture.

The Mission Station embodied a detached model. The idea was to remain aloof and superior on the assumption that Maori culture should be less understood than changed. The Rev. James Buller describes the role.

I always thought that a Christian missionary, in his person, family and home, should be a model for people of his charge. They will honour him according to the proof of the superiority he manifests. ⁷

This approach minimised understanding between the races and, in the long run, blunted the effectiveness of the evangelical effort. It also assumed that the Pakeha cultural style was the norm. It seldom occurred to the missionaries that methods which were appropriate in England required revision in a different setting. The Mission Societies transplanted the whole structure and approach of their churches from England. Techniques and worship patterns were similar while architecture reflected English patterns and artistic style.

⁷J. Buller, Forty Years in New Zealand (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1878), p. 57.

The alternative was to seek some form of identification with the Maori people and their ways. The first person to attempt this was Thomas Kendall. He lived among the Maori people and acquired a knowledge of their language and customs. Yet, as he gained widespread acceptance in the Maori community he lost credibility as a missionary. He was criticised for his approach and finally dismissed for having sexual relations with a Maori girl. The question arose as to whether a missionary could identify with the Maori culture while yet retaining the ability to stand over and against it with the claims of the Gospel.⁸

The Defence of Maori Interests

In some areas, the missionaries sought to safeguard Maori society from European encroachment.

The missionaries, for instance, were concerned about the growing plans for colonisation which emerged in the 1830s. The Church Missionary Society therefore joined with various humanitarian groups to oppose Wakefield's plans, fearing the consequences of a massive influx of land-hungry settlers upon Maori society. Speaking for the Church Missionary Society, Dandeson Coates told the House of Lords Committee on New Zealand that past colon-

⁸Pre-marriage sexual attachments were, with a few exceptions, not prohibited in most Maori tribes.

ising efforts by Europeans had "been found by universal experience to inflict upon the Aborigines the greatest Wrongs and most Severe Injuries."⁹ However, it should be added that the Society was also worried about the subversion of its own goals. It was feared that colonisation would "interrupt if not defeat those Measures for the Religious Improvement and Civilisation of the Natives of New Zealand."¹⁰

The Transformation of Maori Culture

Many, if not all of the changes which appeared in Maori culture were a reflection of the impact of the Christian Gospel.¹¹ The tragedy for the Maori was not the advent of the Gospel as such, but the tendency for many missionaries to insist that the Christian faith and Maori culture were mutually exclusive realities.

The basic missionary problem was the failure to acknowledge the cultural element in their own Christianity. Accordingly, they did not recognise which features of the

⁹Evidence of Coates before the House of Lords Committee on New Zealand, May 14, 1838, in W.D. McIntyre and W.J. Gardiner, (eds.), Speeches and Documents on New Zealand History (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p.5.

¹⁰McIntyre and Gardiner, p. 5.

¹¹Readers are reminded of the discussion [above p. 30] in which it is affirmed that missionaries were only one of many change agents present in Maori society.

Maori style of life they opposed because they were British and which they challenged on scriptural grounds. This, in turn, complicates the historical assessment of missionary activity. Some of the changes they wrought were positive accomplishments. Others were unnecessarily destructive.

The statistics of conversion offer a quantitative, if not qualitative measure of the changing attitudes and affiliations among Maoris. After waiting for over ten years for their first response, the missionaries were gratified by a dramatic surge of interest in the Gospel from the mid-thirties into the early forties. The following Table reflects attendance figures at the largest mission, the Anglican Church Missionary Society.

Table 1

Anglican Maori Churchgoers, Scholars and Communicants
in the North Island of New Zealand

Year	Attendances at Public Worship	Scholars	Communicants
1836	1,530	1,019	31
1838	2,176	1,431	178
1840	8,760	1,796	233
1841	29,320	7,236	584

H. Wright, New Zealand: 1769-1840 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 162.

These statistics, particularly around 1840, indicate a vast increase in interest shown in the Mission Church. This, itself, is culturally significant.

However, beyond mere attendance figures, the Gospel also prompted behavioural changes. Some of these seem trivial, such as giving up tattooing or relinquishing native names in favour of "Christian" names like Mohi (Moses) or Wetere (Wesley).

More important, however, were Gospel-inspired changes which were genuinely liberating experiences. Traditional religious customs concerning the burial of the dead, for instance, were radically modified.¹² These changes freed the Maori, to some extent, from the fear of the power of the dead. They curbed the practice whereby favourite wives would commit suicide upon a chief's death. More slowly, they eradicated the customary killing of slaves at burial ceremonies.

A definite decline in violence also appears to have been related to the Christian presence. Infanticide subsided, inter-tribal wars which had been a bitter feature of the 1830s finally receded and the last case of cannibalism was recorded in 1842 (although it broke out again, temporarily in the war situation of the 1860s).

¹²It was the religious dimension of the Tangi that was enslaving. Psychologically it is a healthy grief process.

Slavery was also abandoned. Wright concludes that "all the things that the Christian Maoris did constituted rather impressive evidence that they fully understood the implications of their conversion."¹³

To these positive achievements must be added the transformation of the Maori language, hitherto entirely oral, into a written form.¹⁴

However, the Gospel was not uniformly beneficial to the Maori culture. In the first place, against figures which show an increasing interest in and conformity to Western Christian ways must be set the emergence of the first of the Maori cults which was, in large measure, a protest against missionary methods and the forms if not the content of the Gospel. Significantly, "Papahurihia", (named for its founder, literally "one who relates wonders") appeared in the early 1830s when conversions began to occur in significant numbers for the first time.

Secondly, the missionaries were often critical of Maori culture to a point far beyond what the Gospel required. The Maori people were expected to repudiate

¹³H. Wright, New Zealand: 1769-1840 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 170.

¹⁴This is discussed in more detail in chapter 8.

much of their own cultural heritage, ostensibly in the name of the Gospel, yet, in reality, because the missionaries failed to distinguish the mandate of the Gospel from the norms of their society.

Some areas of missionary impact are difficult to assess. A case in point was the drive to abolish polygamy. In the eyes of new Maori students of the Bible who were not used to viewing scripture from a Christological reference point, the Bible seemed, in parts, to contradict the missionaries' insistence that polygamy was wrong. The implementation of monogamous teachings created some complex problems among the Maori people. A chief who was converted had to choose which of his wives he would keep. Those who failed to qualify were left in the unfortunate position of waiting for the favourite to die in the hope that they would get another chance. This interim dilemma illustrates the complexity of the impact of the Christian Gospel on local culture.

The Modification of the Gospel

Closer scrutiny of the encounter between the Gospel and the Maori people indicates that, even as Christianity was transforming indigenous culture, Maori culture was shaping the form and content of the missionaries' message.

Presenting the Gospel through the medium of another language always produces modifications in content and subtle changes in meaning. The problem is that words are symbols which conjure up a whole configuration of associations which are embedded in centuries of tradition and years of personal experiences. The Maoris had no words which exactly conveyed the meanings behind Christian concepts. What they did have was their own religious frame of reference, and they used the nearest equivalents in conveying Christian truths. Thus, atua (spirit, god) became the word for the Christian deity with a capitalised first letter, while tapu (meaning something under religious restriction) was used for holy. But the meaning behind these words to Maoris did not parallel what missionaries intended to communicate.

Another problem derived from religious rites in the two religions which were similar but not identical. Thus, missionaries over-estimated the similarity between a Maori purification rite (tohi) and their own baptism. For their part, the Maori understood baptism by way of their own ceremony, tohi, and therefore acquired a distorted picture of its true Christian meaning. It didn't help that Anglicans and Methodists practised a form of baptism that couldn't even be found in the Bible. After Baptists arrived, the Maoris learnt that the missionaries could not even agree among them-

selves about what baptism was!

Maori interest in the Bible did not always mean what missionaries thought it did. Maori fascination with this book moved beyond a curiosity about the Word. The desire to learn to read was one source of the Maori demand for Bibles. It was one of the few written resources available for many years. Another factor was that, because it was a sacred book, it was perceived as having special powers in warding off evil spirits. Even further from missionary intentions was the discovery that the paper from Bibles made good cartridges. One report tells of William Colenso retrieving a cartridge during a Maori battle to find the paper came from II Samuel 13:34 ("How long have I to live?")!¹⁵ Sometimes, too, Bibles were used as armour, since they reputedly had the ability to deflect bullets.

In short, then, the Maori people did not always receive the Gospel in the form which the missionaries transmitted it. For their reception was, naturally enough, conditioned by their own cultural framework.

¹⁵Wright, p. 176.

THE DYNAMICS OF THE IMPACT

Broadly speaking, the Maori responded to the missionaries, firstly, by affirming their own culture in the face of attempts to "civilise" them (until the late 1820s) but eventually by surrendering many of their traditional beliefs in favour of the Christian Gospel and its associated culture. However, this reaction began to change. This section seeks to explore some of the factors which help explain this change. It argues that traditional Maori culture and religion were deeply threatened, sometimes abandoned but eventually transformed because, in their original form they lacked sufficient basis to respond creatively to the challenge that confronted them.

Pre-European Cultural Change

It is a fallacy to assume that Maori culture was a static entity before Western contact. One of the most important causes of pre-European adaptations was the need for the waves of Polynesian immigrants to adapt to the New Zealand environment. Housing had to adapt to the colder climate. Food was limited to crops which would grow in the different geographical setting. Clothing altered, and made use of the fibre found in New Zealand flax.

Pre-Missionary Cultural Change

Earlier discussion has already highlighted the impact which many sailors, traders and other Europeans had upon Maori culture, before the first missionaries set foot in New Zealand. This secular presence in New Zealand, which expanded even more after 1830, must be remembered in any discussion of changes which appeared in Maori society.¹⁶

Inherent Vulnerabilities in Traditional Culture

Animism. Nida and Smalley have commented upon the particular vulnerability of animistic beliefs in the face of many of the major world religions, including Christianity.¹⁷

Maori society had what was essentially a nature religion of the cosmic type. The individual was the prisoner of cosmic powers and hoped to stave off their capricious intervention while encouraging their favour. Personal experiences were quite directly traced to the action of a specific causative agent such as evil spirits.

The application of this logic was one of the direct causes of trauma and confusion in Maori society

¹⁶See above pp. 29-30.

¹⁷E.A. Nida and W.A. Smalley, Introducing Animism. (New York: Friendship Press, 1959), pp. 56-8.

in the 1830s. It was occasioned by the widespread susceptibility to Western diseases which the Maori began to manifest during that decade. Many of these illnesses were the regular household afflictions which did not trouble Europeans, who had acquired immunity. But, in the 1830s, many Maoris became very ill and deaths were common from such causes as the common cold, measles, influenza and venereal diseases. Alongside tribal wars, these diseases were a major factor in accounting for the decline in the Maori population.

For the Maori, falling ill was directly traceable to some wrong-doing on the part of the individual who succumbed to sickness. However, what was particularly traumatic, and to them quite inexplicable, was the phenomenon of whole tribes falling ill, while Europeans remained healthy, on the whole. The conclusion was inescapable. This punishment was surely the reaction of the missionaries' God. While missionaries were not always guilty of actively promoting this interpretation, they often failed to discourage it.

What is even more significant to this discussion is that the Maori could not explain these developments in traditional terms, particularly when their tohungas (priests) could not cure the

illnesses. Knowing nothing about scientific medicine, they were not aware of the phenomenon of immunity. If the European God was behind these afflictions, then perhaps conversion to his Church would prove to be the pre-condition for the restoration of health.¹⁸

The point is that a limited conception of spirituality prompted the Maori to draw erroneous conclusions about the nature of the activity of divine powers in their lives. When they applied their traditional religious interpretations to the epidemics which were affecting their people, they were motivated to accept Christianity.

And yet, they accepted it for traditional Maori reasons with traditional Maori expectations of the rewards and punishments which would ensue (that is, pleasing the European God would lead to health). When the anticipated benefits failed to materialise, the result was disillusionment and confusion.

¹⁸ Much of this interpretation is based on Harrison Wright's thesis, particularly Chapter 8 of his book. He has shed some important light on the sociological pre-conditions for the Maori conversion, although I would not claim that his argument explains as much as he seems to feel it does. The activity of the missionaries themselves as well as the capacity of the Gospel to transform lives and societies is under-rated in Wright's view. However, his point that the Maoris could not control by traditional means the changes which they were experiencing and his conclusion that this helped generate interest in the missionaries' Gospel deserves serious consideration.

Isolation. Another point of vulnerability was the relative isolation from outside contact.

Until the late eighteenth century, outside influences upon Maori culture had been limited to the occasional influx of fresh waves of Polynesian immigrants and one or two explorers.

Patterns of living which function adequately enough in the setting they evolved in become severely tested with the intrusion of new forces. What occurs is the "introduction into the life of the society of forces - attitudes, emotions or ideas - which the existing set of institutions was not originally designed to carry."¹⁹ Readjustment of the anachronistic elements is imperative, or that society will die. This is precisely the challenge which faced the Maori tribes.

In a society where the relative absence of external stimuli has minimised the need for radical adaptability in the past, the prospects of a flexible response are less likely. The Maori had changed their culture over time, but not as much or as fast as these new events required. It is hardly surprising, then,

¹⁹A. Toynbee, A Study of History (Oxford: University Press, 1939), IV, 133.

that Maori society seemed almost doomed before it finally rallied. Although the missionaries played a part in this challenge to Maori culture which nearly proved lethal, it remains true that the cultural confusion and upheaval which the Maoris experienced catches up with all isolated tribal peoples eventually.

The Effects of the Civilising Policy

Changes in material culture have far reaching effects on society's values. "When man changes his tools and his techniques, his ways of producing and distributing the goods of life he also changes his gods."²⁰ Since society, particularly a traditional one, is an organism rather than a machine, changes in one area must lead to changes or appropriate adjustments in other areas if harmonious and integrated functioning is to be sustained.²¹ In the Maori situation, then, technical innovations (which they imagined they could make selectively) eventually required the realignment of traditional values.

What the Maori people slowly learned was that they could not simply borrow selectively from another

²⁰H. Cox, The Secular City (New York: Macmillan, 1966), p. 7.

²¹Toynbee, IV, 132.

culture and remain in full control of the consequences.

Creativity in Decline

The nineteenth century for the Maori, then, became a struggle between destructive and creative forces.

There is no doubt that, during two periods in particular (1830-50 and 1870-90) the Maori exhibited signs of decline. Disease, wars and cultural confusion contributed to the first malaise while defeat in the Colonial Wars of the 1860s initiated the second.

However, there were also signs of resistance, response and creativity embodied in the King Movement²² and the indigenous cults, as well as the Maori revival which emerged toward the close of the century. This creativity is important, because it marked the attempt of the Maori to redefine their cultural identity in a radically altered setting.

The essence of this creative process is that it did not seek, in a reactionary way, merely to revive the past. It was never purely traditional. It incorporated new influences, including Christianity. It pushed toward something new and it looked toward the future.

²²The King Movement which was partly inspired by the Old Testament, was an attempt by the Maori people to generate some political unity in the face of settler encroachments during the 1850s. A Maori king was elected.

SUMMARY

The missions consciously set out to civilise the Maoris as part of their evangelising programme and this implied the rejection of Maori culture in its traditional form as a precondition of conversion. The British thought their religion was superior to that of the Maori, and it was; but they also presumed their culture to be better which it was not.

Some missionaries, the minority, could see that Maori culture had some merit and sought to understand it from the inside. Most remained aloof, fearing contamination and forfeiting the opportunity for greater understanding.

There was a sad paradox in the missionary relationship to Maori culture. The missionaries genuinely cared about the Maori people and opposed the greed of the settlers who were laying violent hands on Maori land while trampling on Maori rights. And yet, probably through lack of awareness rather than deliberate malice, they sponsored a programme which, while sometimes beneficial, was also harmful to Maori welfare.

This anomaly is instructional for our time. It is a reminder that the structure of a relationship is as important as the goodwill of the participants within it. Paternalism can negate the best of philanthropic

intentions because the price of being a beneficiary is one's dignity as a human being. Most self-respecting persons eventually consider that price to be too high.

However, the power of the Christian Gospel transcends the shortcomings of its own advocates. It criticises even the culture that carries it. That is, every culture is challenged by the Gospel, even as it communicates it.

Meanwhile, every people must forge an indigenous expression of the Christian faith. This process of reinterpretation takes time. The first tentative steps in this direction may be seen in the indigenous cults. From our standpoint, the results may seem crude and deficient. But these movements were the beginning of a process which is not yet complete. It is to them that the discussion now turns.

Chapter 4

THE CREATIVE PERIOD: INDIGENOUS MAORI RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

Gradually, a more distinctively Maori response to the Gospel evolved. Historically, it was manifest in a series of religious movements which are described and evaluated in this chapter.

THE MAJOR MOVEMENTS

The earliest "resistance cult" emerged in the 1830s [above p. 40] but events of the 1850s and '60s were to initiate the emergence of Maori religious movements on a significant scale.

Background

During the 1850s, relations between Maori and Pakeha had deteriorated considerably. One of the most inflammatory issues had been land, particularly the manner of its acquisition by the settlers. The squabbles between the settlers and the Maoris led ultimately to the outbreak of bitter fighting in the 1860s known as the "Maori Wars".

Meanwhile, missionary influence was declining, partly because of a general dissatisfaction with Europeans. Interdenominational arguments, coupled with a reaction against the Western forms associated with Christianity

also functioned to undermine missionary credibility.

Hau Hau

"Pai Marire" (literally "Good and Peaceful"), a movement which sought to find refuge in a rapidly vanishing past, soon assumed, in 1862, a militant form as the so called "Hau Hau" sect.

The practice of this sect developed around a ritual whereby participants walked, danced and chanted around the niu pole in the belief that this process imparted magical power to them which would expel the Pakeha and usher in the millenium.¹ Identification with the Jews and a tendency to style themselves as the second Chosen People who would return from the wilderness to recover their lands were also features of this movement. Twentieth-century following accorded this movement is exceedingly small.

Ringatu

A more substantial movement, the Ringatu sect, emerged in the wake of the failure of Hau Hauism.² It was a more peaceful movement (reflecting the failure of the wars to achieve Maori goals). The central theme, the

¹The niu pole or sticks were used in divination.

²"Ringatu" means "upraised hand", from the posture assumed when praising God.

exclusion of the "Israelites" from the promised land remained but its resolution was sought on a spiritual plane. To some extent, this indicated the recognition that European settlement was irreversible. Thus, if encouragement could not be derived from the facts, inspiration could be secured in the realm of religious belief.

In establishing the Ringatu Church, Te Kooti Rikirangi launched a more lasting response to the concerns which had prompted earlier developments. He began by modifying Hau Hau ritual but eventually renounced its more violent and magical characteristics. The attempt to bring God down the niu pole through frenzied ritual gave way to a religion which featured subjection to God's will as its central focus. More extravagant promises of Hau Hauism such as the return of the dead were abandoned while the Bible was rehabilitated from the disrepute to which it had been consigned.

The Ringatu sect was finally accorded recognition as a Christian Church in 1938. However, its following has never been large.³

³In 1926, only 6% of all Maoris identified themselves with the sect and by 1971 this figure had shrunk to 2.4% or 5,453 people. [Information furnished on request by the Government Department of Statistics].

The Io Doctrine

Hau Hau and Ringatu were essentially religions of the masses. The 1860s, however, also witnessed a spiritually sophisticated development.

A group of Maori elders produced in the 1860s a more unified and systematic account of Maori mythology, metaphysics and ancient history than any which had hitherto been developed. Like its political counterpart, the King Movement, it was designed to produce a unified Maori response to the European threat to Maori values.

One of its key features was the teaching that the Maori had a notion of a supreme God named Io who was "the ultimate source of all mana in the universe and who was omnipotent, omniscient and uncreated."⁴ The two leading scholars in the movement (Te Matorohanga and Nepia Pohuhu) were Christian converts who had separated themselves from the mission churches.

There is considerable debate among scholars as to whether a pattern of belief anything like the Io doctrine ever existed in traditional Maori society.

⁴E. Schwimmer, The World of the Maori (Auckland: Reed, 1966), p. 114.

It seems fairly certain that part of its content, along with the interest in systematising traditional beliefs, was influenced by the Western presence and Christian teaching.

While provisions were made for the propagation of the Io doctrine among the Maori people, the teaching was in some respects alien to the Maori mind. It was systematic, abstract and philosophical and remained an elite esoteric movement.

The Ratana Movement

The Ratana movement, named for its founder, appeared in the wake of the First World War. Despite some benefits derived from the measures of the Liberal Administration which ruled at the turn of the century, many Maoris lived in a state of misery and hopelessness. Many of them returning from War, in 1918, having fought alongside Pakeha troops, found difficulty in securing farms, even though their people had contributed to rehabilitation schemes. Meanwhile, in 1918, an influenza epidemic had a far more devastating effect on the Maori than the European population.⁵ These circumstances combined to cultivate a mood among the Maori receptive to a new

⁵Two hundred in every 10,000 Maoris died of it compared with 49 in every 10,000 Europeans.

movement.

Wiremu Ratana founded, in 1918, a religion clearly beamed at the disinherited. It was the closest of all the Maori cults to orthodox Christianity. Sometimes Christian teaching was invoked against more traditional beliefs rooted in Maori culture. Thus, while faith healing was something which Ratana practised, he rejected the mana of the traditional chiefs and tohungas because they believed that their powers were inherent in themselves and their positions. Instead, he promoted the belief that it was God alone who possessed the power to perform these acts of faith and that God worked through Ratana as his chosen instrument.⁶ The followers of the movement were known as "morehu" (the "remnants"). They were the "common people, salvaged from the wreckage of a collapsed culture."⁷

The movement began with the so called spiritual phase which involved an elaboration of Ratana beliefs and assumed tangible form in the building of the Ratana temple.

⁶Schwimmer, p. 147.

⁷Schwimmer, p. 148.

However, the millennial dream was an objective which could legitimately be pursued through the channels of the political process. Thus, Ratana sought to "capture" the four Maori seats in Parliament and realised his goal in the election of 1943.⁸ Since then, Ratana candidates in the Maori seats have consistently voted with the Labour Party.

The pursuit of Maori objectives through the political process, in co-operation with the Labour Party, identifies this movement as distinct from other Maori sects which sought refuge in the spiritual world for developments they did not like but could not prevent. It is probably the political dimension of the Ratana Movement which has accorded it prominence in European eyes. However, to overlook its religious significance would be to misunderstand the Maori people and their perspective of life. Ratana is far more than a political movement and always has been.

The Ratana Church has commanded greater numerical support than any other indigenous Maori religious group.⁹

⁸Since 1876, the Maoris have been guaranteed four seats in Parliament. The country is divided regionally into four electorates. Maoris may choose to vote either for their regional Maori candidate or in the local European electorate.

⁹The percentage of Maoris affiliating themselves with the movement was 18.2% in 1926 but had dropped to 12.1% by 1971. [Information furnished on request by the Government Department of Statistics].

THE MEANING OF THESE MOVEMENTS

Their Religious Dimension

That the Maori reaction to the Western presence should assume a religious form is not at all surprising. For them, the division between secular and sacred is blurred and a purely political or secular approach to human affairs would be unthinkable. In these movements,

The divine was brought in to intervene on behalf of the weakened Maori people....The resort to the Bible is understandable since this was the main book in the Maori language. And it provided parallels between the children of Israel and the Maori people in similar historical circumstances. 10

Any evaluation of these movements, then, must take their religious character seriously, while recognising, too, that they cannot be adequately understood apart from the historical circumstances which occasioned them,

Their Anti-Foreign Character

By 1860, the Maoris had decisively concluded that the presence of Pakehas constituted a challenge to their values and a disruptive influence in their society while it also threatened the tenure of their lands.

The initial Maori hope that they could borrow selectively from Western culture, a hope which had prompted

¹⁰ Cited in R.D. Rakena, The Maori Response to the Gospel (Auckland: Wesley Historical Society, 1971), pp.28-9.

initial enthusiasm toward settlers and missionaries, soon faded when they recognised that this was unworkable. By the 1850s, they realised that they were caught up in a process of change which they were powerless to arrest or control. Moreover, the initial hope that the acceptance of Christianity might solve all their problems failed to materialise.

The anti-foreign sentiment, however, was not total. These movements were syncretistic. All of them borrowed features from Christianity.

What seems clear is that the Maori people wanted the freedom to appropriate those aspects of the Gospel which appealed to them in their situation. As it turned out, the Old Testament spoke far more pertinently to the Maori people than the New. Perhaps, too, the Maoris were less opposed to the content of the Christian faith than they were to the forms used to express it. Finally, they did not want completely to reject their own religious heritage.

The Accent on "Things Maori"

If anti-foreign sentiment was the negative element in these movements, their positive thrust came from the interest in exalting distinctively Maori concerns and values.

Land. In purely quantitative terms, the Maori, by 1860, had lost a great deal of land.¹¹ This fact was the major cause of the wars in the 1860s.

Land has a special symbolic significance for the Maori. Landlessness is a symbol of alienation from one's origins: the absence of turangawaewae ("a place to stand"). Moreover, land was owned collectively by the tribe which led to complications in land transactions. Often, too, the nature of payment for land, when payment was made, was unequal. As one Maori expressed it:

The land will remain forever to produce food, and after you cut down the old trees to build houses, the saplings will continue growing, and after years will become larger trees; while the payment I ask for will soon come to an end. The blankets will wear out, the axes will be broken...and the iron pots will be cracked by the heat of the fire. ¹²

The terms of land transactions consistently favoured the settlers. Maori awareness of this led to resistance.

Oppression. The oppressed, subordinate status of the Maori was another factor which prompted them to assert themselves.

¹¹For figures, see K. Sinclair, A History of New Zealand (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969), pp. 145-6.

¹²Te Waharoa to the Rev. A. Brown, [1835], cited in an anthology of Maori writings, J. Caselberg, (ed.), Maori is My Name (Dunedin: McIndoe, 1975), p. 29.

The Maori movements exhibited religious characteristics commonly found among the disinherited. Combining features from their own heritage and the missionary teachings, the Maori stressed millinarian expectations and the resurrection of the dead who would return to participate in the New Age ushered in by the millenium. They also fancied themselves as the Chosen People. Reading of the Israelites in captivity, they could identify with the sojourn in Egypt and the prospect of the promised land. Attracted by the notion of a king unifying many tribes into one people, they could discern relevance and value in the days of Israel's monarchy. Fascinated by the period when the Jews wanted to mark themselves clearly off from the Gentiles with whom they wanted no dealings, the Maori found a model for relationships between Maori and Pakeha which stressed separateness. The Christian Cross could symbolise the crucifixion of the natives while baptism was a similar procedure to the purification washings which were traditionally used to consecrate warriors before they entered battle.

The religion the Maori needed was one which would serve the needs of an oppressed people. Maori identity was a captive identity. It reflected people imprisoned by developments they felt powerless to resist or control.

To this extent, these movements were a defence from a people under attack.

A Maori Renaissance. It would be wrong to characterise the accent on "things Maori" as purely a defensive retreat. It was also a positive creative attempt to find and affirm Maori identity. It did not start from the point where Maori culture had been before European contact as if to ignore fifty years of history. Rather it began with the situation as it was, and built on the foundations of a Maori culture which had been affected by the impact of European culture.

SUMMARY

By 1860, the Maori people were engaged in a grim struggle with the Pakeha for physical and cultural survival. As well as being political and military, their response assumed a religious dimension. Religious movements emerged which featured contributions from pre-European Maori heritage alongside themes from a Maori culture changed by exposure to Western missionary influences. On these twin pillars of ancient traditions and Christian influences, the Maori constructed a new cultural expression of their identity. They did this to provide a positive basis upon which to stand in the face of European encroachments.

The indigenous religions not only gave the Maori people a framework within which they could work together toward revival, it also gave them tools for the task. This was particularly true of the Ratana movement in the twentieth century which went beyond spiritual revival to the point of political activity. Provision was made for the pursuit of the Maori vision through the political process so that it had a better chance of successful accomplishment.

Meanwhile, the nineteenth-century religious movements had influenced the policies and attitudes of the mission churches. There was a greater attempt to recruit Maori pastors. As the more heated atmosphere of the wars passed, and relationships between Maori and Pakeha improved, the Maori people were able to work with the European settlers on a new basis. Many grievances persisted. However, Maoris were now able to relate to Pakehas, not as a people reeling under the impact of colonisation, but rather, as a race who could assert itself on the basis of a revived understanding of its heritage.

Therefore, the Maori reaction had fostered a new sensitivity on the part of the mission churches toward their situation. On the other hand, later, more constructive movements stressed Maori nationalism and identity.

Chapter 5

THE CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT

This chapter suggests that the legacy of the history on the one hand and the climate of ecumenical opinion on the other furnish the context for the contemporary resolution of the problem of Maori identity in the Christian Church.

THE LEGACY OF THE HISTORY

Society depends on its memories as individuals do and it must remember its good deeds and its bad.... Memory can be cruel, hard to face, relentless, but we have to face it and continue to face it.... ¹

Society cannot erase the impact of its past history any more than an individual can fully dismiss significant personal experiences. Whether consciously recalled or not, these experiences leave an indelible impression. They are the basis upon which all present and future activity rests while they shape current feelings. Before exploring the contemporary situation, therefore, it is important to review the legacy of the history which

¹Charles Brasch, cited in J. Caselberg, (ed.), Maori is My Name (Dunedin: McIndoe, 1975), keynote quote at beginning of text before pagination.

has been discussed in the previous chapters.

There are positive features in the missionary legacy. Missionaries frequently defended Maori interests against those Europeans who ignored them. They were keen to preserve features of the Maori tradition and society long before it became fashionable to do so in the universities. Further, they created the first educational opportunities which eventually enabled some Maoris to derive the basis for leadership among their own people in the context of the modern world.

From our contemporary perspective, however, we discern a paternalism in this humanitarian concern which kept the Maori subservient. The Maori characteristically experienced humanitarian compassion as a gift. These things were shared as a parent shares with a child. Benevolence was more often prompted by charity than respect, and it was many years before Maoris were accorded full status as human beings, equal in European eyes to their own compatriots.

It is abundantly clear to the contemporary observer that the Maoris were westernised in the process of being Christianised, and it must further be acknowledged that this was a deliberate feature of mission policy, particularly in the early years.

However, accompanying this must come the recognition that the Maoris were never passive recipients of

these ideas and influences. They invariably adapted what they received and sometimes abandoned it altogether.

There were features of the Judeo-Christian tradition, however, which were genuinely liberating in their impact on Maori personality and society. That some Maoris perceived positive elements in the Gospel is clear from their appropriation of certain Biblical motifs in their own indigenous movements. Behind this positive assessment lies the assumption that Christ (rather than traditional Maori spirits) is the authentic initiator of God's Kingdom. Accepting this, one can presume to comment that much in traditional Maori religion imprisoned its worshippers in a way which all primitive religions do. The legacy of the advent of the Gospel, therefore, must be seen, in part, as a liberating and potentially humanising one. The full humanising potential was partially masked from and therefore inaccessible to the Maori people primarily because of the paternalistic manner of its presentation.

The alienness of the missionaries (and settlers) obliged the Maori to discover their unity as a people to an extent which they had never before experienced. From a loose collection of tribes, unified primarily by ethnic similarities and a common land over which they fought, they became a people who, for the first time, collectively called themselves "Maori", conscious of their corporate

identity, not without divisions and conflicts to be sure, but a people nonetheless.

The missionaries, moreover, while they damaged certain aspects of Maori culture by condemning it, also stimulated the Maori people to develop and expand their culture to an unprecedented extent in numerous creative ways. After the shock of the initial encounter, they began to forge a creative synthesis between their heritage and the new influences so that Maori culture became a richer and more diverse reality.

The missionaries had brought the missionary Gospel which certainly transcended any religious reality the Maori had previously been exposed to. It remained for the Maori to devise ways of celebrating its meaning in their own way. The indigenous religious movements such as Ringatu and Ratana were early attempts to accomplish this task. But they were, to some extent, bound to the particular historical context which nurtured them. The current task, accepted by many Maoris is to fashion their own expression of the Christian faith in terms which relate to the needs of the 1970s. Pakehas, meanwhile, need to come to terms with the implications of multi-culturalism in today's Church. This will be a key issue in the discussion which follows.

MOTIFS FROM BANGKOK AND NAIROBI

The climate of contemporary opinion in the Christian world is also a significant influence on the problem being discussed in this project. The Church, of course, never speaks with one voice, but two recent ecumenical conferences of the World Council of Churches [Bangkok, 1973 and Nairobi, 1975] articulated some concerns related to this discussion which are important enough to review.

In its open letter to the churches, the Bangkok Assembly declared that Christians "must find new ways of responding together to their common calling in the world so that everyone can take full responsibility and obtain full identity."² Offering some guidelines which hopefully would shape these "new ways of responding together", the Conferences articulated certain principles which bear directly on the present discussion.

Culture and Identity

Both conferences affirmed that responding to Christ should not mean, as it sometimes has meant

²Bangkok Assembly, 1973, Minutes and Report on the Commission on World Mission and Evangelism (New York: World Council of Churches, 1973), p. 73.

that an individual or a people should surrender their identity. The Gospel does not require people to negate their culture as such, but only those aspects which are at odds with its fundamental teachings. A people should be able to receive and express Christ "as specifically as possible with regard to [their] own cultural settings.... [For] Jesus Christ does not make copies, but originals."³

The close relationship between personal and cultural identity was affirmed, and a person's cultural setting was seen as crucial, not only in shaping one's response to the Gospel, but also in fashioning the kinds of questions an individual feels prompted to ask about the faith.⁵ Far from being irrelevant accretions, incompatible with Christianity, "Racial and cultural identity are divine gifts and human achievements to be taken up into Christian identity which is to be conformed to the image of [Christ]."⁶

³D.M. Paton (ed.), Breaking Barriers: Nairobi 1975 (London: S.P.C.K., 1976), p. 46.

⁴Bangkok Assembly, 1973, p. 73.

⁵Bangkok Assembly, 1973, p. 72.

⁶Bangkok Assembly, 1973, p. 73.

The Motif of Incarnation

Both conferences focused on the motif of Incarnation as a useful symbol in current circumstances. Utilising Philippians 2:5 in particular, they stress how Christ identified with a particular people and became one of them, while yet embodying something of universal significance for humankind as he did so. Thus, Christ does not disparage any particular culture, though neither does he exalt it into an absolute. The central point they are making, however, is that "the universality of the Christian faith does not contradict its particularity. Christ has to be responded to in a particular situation."⁷

The principles of universality and particularity are held in tension while they yet complement each other.

Universality can grow out of openness to change and exchange among cultures. It also grows through the deepening of particularity which is received through increasing awareness of the distinct riches of one's own culture....In all this, we recognise that varying cultures reflect the richness of diversity of all humankind. ⁸

However, while noting the appearance of Christ in a particular cultural setting, it is affirmed, against the implicit assumptions frequently found in missions

⁷ Bangkok Assembly, 1973, p. 74.

⁸ Paton, p. 78., Section III: 26.

that

no culture is closer to Jesus Christ than any other culture. Jesus Christ restores what is truly human in any culture and frees us to be open to other cultures....He offers us liberation from our attitudes of cultural superiority and from self-sufficiency. He unites us in a community which transcends any particular culture. 9

Alongside the paradox of the particular expressing the universal, the Incarnation is also seen as a powerful symbol of humble servanthood.¹⁰ Humility is an important virtue to be cultivated by all bearers of the Gospel.

Discovering New Dimensions

Nairobi in particular recognised that, in the process of presentation by the West, certain dimensions of the Gospel have been lost and await recovery.¹¹ With respect to the Maori situation, their life and faith can help us to rediscover dimensions of the Gospel which have been lost. An obvious area where this applies is the centrality of communal values in Maori society.

⁹Paton, p. 79, Section III:29.

¹⁰Paton, p. 17; Bangkok Assembly, 1973, p. 74.

¹¹Paton, p. 46, Section I:23.

Theology

The discussion of an indigenous theology does not come as news to the Maori people who have been developing their own expression of the Gospel, almost since the first missionaries arrived. Both conferences affirmed the worth of this enterprise as something which helps people make sense of their own unique experiences in the light of the Bible.¹² Because many of the theologies of colonised peoples have focused on themes of liberation and oppression Bangkok suggested that they "may legitimately be appropriated by those who are dehumanised by oppression, whatever the colour of their skin."¹³ Nairobi asked that "particular attention be paid to the relationship of cultural assumptions and the way we understand the Word of God."¹⁴

SUMMARY

The history of how Maori cultural identity has fared in the context of Christian missions and Church life

¹²Paton, p. 107, Section V:43.

¹³Bangkok Assembly, 1973, p. 74.

¹⁴Paton, p. 107, Section V:43.

affects current feelings about perceptions of the problem. Meanwhile, encouragement comes from Church leaders who have articulated the basis of a fresh vision with respect to the place of cultural identity within the Christian community. The essence of the reports from the Bangkok and Nairobi conferences is that Christian conversion "introduces people into the Christian community, the structure of which may differ greatly from one culture to another, and which will always include a great variety of persons."¹⁵

It remains, however, to explore what these general aspirations mean in the context of Maori-Pakeha relations in the New Zealand Church. This task dictates the focus of the remaining chapters of this project.

¹⁵Bangkok Assembly, 1973, p. 76.

Chapter 6

FACTORS AFFECTING MAORI CULTURAL IDENTITY IN TODAY'S CHURCH

If the New Zealand Church is to realise principles like those articulated at Bangkok and Nairobi at a local level, it has first to confront the principal factors which will affect progress toward this goal. An understanding of the cultural situation in New Zealand will be necessary. This chapter hopes to contribute to this understanding.

Four factors will be examined. They are (1) the issues surrounding assimilation and integration as policies; (2) the heterogeneous nature of Maori culture; (3) the impact of the migrations of other Polynesians from the South Pacific in recent years and (4) the decline of the indigenous religious movements.

ASSIMILATION AND INTEGRATION

General Background

In 1840, the British Government, which had accepted responsibility for New Zealand, opted to incorporate the Maori people in New Zealand society rather than attempt to maintain them in remote secluded reservations.

In practice, then, the official policy of the New Zealand Government for one hundred years, since it became self-governing in 1852, has been assimilation. Furthermore, the aim was to loosen ties which the Maori people had with their land, language and customs. The hope was that they would come to think and act increasingly like the white majority. Although anathema to us today, the assimilationist policy did at least credit the Maori with the potential for advancement.¹

Against this, however, is the explicit assumption of an assimilationist policy that the culture being absorbed into the mainstream of life is inherently inferior and not worth perpetuating.

In the 1940s and '50s, this policy was softened and, in 1961, officially abandoned in favour of integration. Of course, attitudes do not immediately conform to official policy. Thus, an assimilationist mentality still lingers in the minds of many New Zealanders.

¹This is clear from the articulation of the policy in the preamble to the Native Trust Ordinance of 1844: "Whereas the native people of New Zealand are by natural endowments apt for the acquirement of the arts and habits of the civilised life and are capable of moral and social achievement....[The Crown perceives that its goals in Native Policy] may be best attained by assuming as speedily as possible the habits and usages of the natives to those of the European population...." Cited in I.L.G. Sutherland, (ed.), The Maori People Today (Oxford:Oxford University Press, 1940), p. 272.

The Hunn Report which articulated the integration policy of the Government, characterised it as an attempt "to combine (not fuse) the Maori and Pakeha elements to form one nation wherein Maori culture remains distinct."² However, when taken as a whole, the Maori synod of the Presbyterian Church was among those who were dissatisfied with the definition which the Hunn Report supplied. They, therefore presented their own.

As we understand it, integration is the combination of the Maori and the Pakeha peoples of the nation into one harmonious community in which each enjoys the privileges and accepts the responsibilities of their common citizenship, wherein there are no racial barriers and wherein, with mutual understanding and respect, each race is free to cherish its cultural heritage, that in this way, the best elements of both cultures may be united to form the pattern of future New Zealand society. ³

As the policy unfolded in practice, it came, in political terms to focus on two broad goals: the eradication of those differences which perpetuate inequality and discrimination and the encouragement of Maoris to retain their language and culture where this is their desire.

There can be no doubt that there are greater attempts to foster a multi-cultural society today than there were a decade ago, although there is often uncertainty as to

²J.K. Hunn, Report on the Department of Maori Affairs (Wellington:Government Printer, 1961), p. 15.

³The Maori Synod, A Maori View of the Hunn Report (Christchurch: The Maori Synod of the Presbyterian Church, 1961), p. 9.

how seriously the average New Zealander regards these goals. In practice, many Pakehas still think in terms of assimilation, even while using the language of integration. It must also be added that the Maori people themselves are by no means unanimous in affirming their own distinctive cultural traits.

Application to the Church

A recent Christian Maori writer reflects justifiable bitterness at the effect which this predominantly assimilationist policy has had upon his people. He believes that the humanitarian goals which may have been present in the formulation of such a policy were overshadowed by deeper motivations in self-interest and the desire to preserve European culture.

He locates the most damaging centre of this cultural imperialism in the suppression of the Maori language. The Native Schools Act [1867] and its ammendment [1871] exterminated the bi-lingual system in New Zealand schools.⁴ Only in the past decade have signs emerged that this policy is being replaced by one which gives encouragement to the learning of Maori, not just for the Maori people, but also for their Pakeha neighbours. Language is one of the keys to cross-cultural understanding.

⁴R.D. Rakena, The Maori Response to the Gospel (Auckland: Wesley Historical Society, 1971), pp. 24-5.

Assimilation is in evidence in other areas of Church life apart from language, however. It is apparent in theology, church architecture and the forms of worship. Many Maori church-goers are divided by denomination, not because it means anything to them but because it once meant something in Europe and is still observed by Pakehas today. Maoris have been absorbed into patterns of ecclesiology which prevailed in the culture which brought them the Christian Gospel.

Church buildings for many years reflected European rather than Maori architectural styles. Even though Maori characteristics are appearing in some churches where significant numbers of Maoris worship, their buildings as a whole do not adequately reflect the social customs of Maori society.

However, in some of these areas, most notably language, the Church's record has been better than the society as a whole.

Overall, though, if true integration rather than assimilation is to occur, Rakena believes that "more Pakeha members must make serious attempts to meet Maori members at greater depth."⁵ For him this means more than handshakes, casual greetings and functional associations

⁵Rakena, p. 34.

such as those which occur at work or on the sports field. It means a genuine attempt to understand and participate in the other's experience.

HETEROGENEITY IN MAORI SOCIETY

Generalisations about the Maori people are prone to overlook the fact that they are not a homogeneous group, even though they possess certain physical and cultural characteristics in common. This section will seek to identify some of the differences which are apparent in Maori society.

There is a small segment in the Maori population concentrated in the over-forty age group who adhere to more traditional Maori values. They speak the language frequently and fluently and regard it as an important feature of their cultural identity.

Those Maoris with tertiary education constitute another articulate and vocal minority. Education rather than age is the basis of their authority and they actively pursue distinctively Maori interests and goals in the wider society. They have a public visibility beyond their numerical strength.

These first two groups would probably account for less than 15% of the total population. Even this figure may be too large.

There are significant numbers of Maoris, particularly among the youth, who have, to some extent, assimilated the prejudices which the Pakeha community has harboured against them. They therefore tend to fulfill the prophecies made about them and feel ambiguous about their Maoriness.

Yet another pattern is apparent among Maoris who have accepted many of the Pakeha cultural norms in significant areas of their living. Sometimes called "brown Pakehas", these Maoris, while they have assimilated many traits commonly associated with white values, have never totally rejected their own cultural attachments. Often in white company, they are reticent in dissenting from prevailing (Pakeha) opinion in the group on some subject about which they may, in fact, differ.

Of course, no Maori today is totally unaffected by Pakeha values and the increasing number of mixed marriages reinforces this fact. There is a growing area of shared cultural aspirations and identifications. But Maori and Pakeha would never approach even shared values in quite the same way. For something distinctive remains.

Significantly, some studies have indicated that sociological forces which one might expect to work in favour of increased heterogeneity in the Maori community

have in fact not had this effect. Joan Metge, for instance, conducted a study on the effects of urbanisation on Maoris in the northern part of New Zealand. Her research indicates that while the phenomenon of urbanisation certainly has complex effects involving many variables, it has a less disruptive impact on Maori cultural identifications than some had believed.⁶ She found that

In many ways, the Maoris in Auckland [city] failed to conform to the 'urban way of life' described by sociologists. Kinship remained important in the organisation of everyday life and of social crises in the individual life cycle, although proportionately more individuals were not members of corporate extra-domestic kin-groups. ⁷

In fact, finding themselves in a predominantly non-Maori setting for the first time, many Maoris actually showed increased interest in their distinctive heritage.

NEW MIGRATIONS FROM THE PACIFIC

The question of Maori cultural identity is further clouded by the sharp increase in the rate of migration of various Polynesian groups from the Pacific Islands to New Zealand.

⁶See, for instance, H. Cox, The Secular City (New York: Macmillan, 1966), p. 5.

⁷J. Metge, A New Maori Migration (Melbourne: University Press, 1964), p. 254.

In the period between 1961-71 the European population only increased by 15% while the Maori increase was 36%, the Tongan 100%, the Cook Islander 306% and the Samoan 340%.⁸ Immigration has been a more important factor than natural increase with respect to the Pacific Island groups.

This influx of various groups from the Pacific has complicated the Polynesian cultural question. In the first place, each of these groups, while sharing a Polynesian heritage, also possess distinctive cultural traits so that "Polynesians" cannot be related to as one homogeneous group. Secondly, the recent waves of immigrants have generated some anti-Polynesian feeling, evoking some of the latent racism in New Zealand society which has remained dormant so long as Polynesians have not affected the lives of New Zealanders in a personal way. Thirdly, it has diverted some of the attention away from Maori needs and problems. For the Church, these new developments further complicate the attempt to develop a culturally sensitive Christian community.

⁸New Zealand Official Yearbook (Wellington: Government Printer, 1975), p. 84. While the actual numbers involved in these percentages are not very large (for instance, the Samoan growth figure, 1961-71 is from 6,481 to 22,198) there has been a visible change, perceived by the average Aucklanders in particular (where most Islanders have come) as altering the cultural complexion of the city.

THE DECLINE IN INDIGENOUS MAORI RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

Among New Zealand churches, the greatest and steady decline in proportional membership is in the specifically Maori religions. With respect to the Maori people, this has been most evident in the Ratana, Ringatu and Hau Hau movements.

Table 2
Religious Movements Showing Decline
in terms of Maori Support

	1926	1956	1971
Ratana	18.2%	13.7%	12.1%
Ringatu	6.0	3.7	2.4
Hau Hau	0.9	0.2	0.1

Based on figures supplied on request from the New Zealand Government Department of Statistics.

Between 1926 and 1971, the greatest increases in Maori affiliation have been registered among Roman Catholics (13.4% - 17.3%), Mormons (5.4% - 7.6%) and Methodists (6.4% - 7.1%), while a totally new, almost entirely Maori sect has emerged in recent years known as the Maori Evangelical Fellowship. It is registering rapid numerical growth.⁹

⁹These percentages show the percentage of the Maori population affiliating with these groups. Figures supplied on request by New Zealand Government Statistics Department.

A Summary of Available Data

A general study of the research data available on Maori religious affiliations and practice may be summarised as follows.

First, less Maoris affiliate themselves with the traditional Maori religious movements such as Ratana and Ringatu. Secondly, a higher percentage of Maoris affiliate themselves officially with certain Pakeha denominations, most notably Catholics, Mormons, Presbyterians and Methodists. Third, the percentage of Maoris in the Methodist (particularly), Roman Catholic and Anglican Church has increased at a greater rate than can be accounted for in terms of population growth alone.

An Interpretation of Available Data

Superficially, there appears to be a disenchantment with traditional Maori religious movements and a tendency to become more involved in Pakeha churches. Plausible explanations of these trends include the observation that the historical religions were tailored for a particular historical situation which has now altered. Perhaps, too, this new pattern of Maori religious involvement reflects the improved condition of the Maori people in New Zealand society as a whole. Moreover, there seems to be a greater willingness on the part of Maoris to become involved in Pakeha institutions than there was, for instance, in the 1860s or at the turn of the century.

The interesting feature of a new, rapidly growing Maori sect, the Maori Evangelical Fellowship, is that, while it is composed almost entirely of Maoris and exhibits many characteristics commonly found in Maori society such as informality and an accent on fellowship, it is in some respects rather Western. It has an individualistic theology with a focus on personal salvation. It began as the United Maori Mission which was initially engaged solely in running hostels for Maori adolescents in the cities. Later it established Sunday Schools, Bible study and prayer groups. The striking feature of the Maori Evangelical Fellowship is that it exhibits, sociologically, many of features which Yinger, following Troeltsch, H.R. Niebuhr and others, identified in radical sect-type churches. Sociologically, participants are usually drawn from groups who do not have much power or status in the secular society. There is a focus on lay leadership, individualism, creating a loving fellowship and loose structure. There is a tendency to separate religious life from social and economic power struggles and therefore little focus on social action. There is an opposition to official denominations or theologians and a tendency toward fundamentalism.¹⁰

¹⁰ J.M. Yinger, Religion in the Struggle for Power (Durham: Duke University Press, 1946), p. 19. See also H.R. Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism (New York: Holt Rinehart, 1929).

This kind of religious association clearly performs a vital function in offering fellowship, love and acceptance to a group who do not find these things in the larger society. As such, it is an important source of spiritual nurture and social support, but it cannot offer a basis for the kinds of social and economic change required in the New Zealand community.

A further factor which must be considered is the increased use of Maori pastors within established Pakeha churches. Maoris are also involved in theological training. The Methodists and Anglicans have achieved more than others in these areas and they, more than others, have incorporated Maori worship services in their activities. However, other denominations, such as the Baptists, although very slow to start innovations of this type, have made great strides in the past ten years.

Some denominations have included other features which appeal to Maoris such as opportunities for speech-making (whai koorero) after the worship service, discussion of "things Maori", and announcements about cultural activities and forthcoming hui.¹¹

¹¹P.H. de Bres, Religion in Atene (Wellington: Polynesian Society, 1971), pp. 24-5. [Note "Atene" is Maori for "Athens"].

Many Pakeha clergy, too, take the trouble to learn and use Maori, thus gaining wider respect among the Maori people. In fact, a Pakeha pastor who takes the trouble to do this may become as effective as a Maori, partly because of the attempt to understand another culture implicit in taking the trouble to learn the language. Moreover, since clergy naturally have mana in the Maori community, a Pakeha minister would have more authority, other things being equal than an ordinary white citizen.

All these factors may help to explain the decline in participation in the traditional Maori religious movements and the related rise in adherence to Maori denominations. Meanwhile, the Maori Evangelical Fellowship is, to my mind, an important new development which stands as a meaningful comment on the position of Maoris in New Zealand society as well as on their spiritual and emotional needs.

Some Qualifications

However, it should be recognised that census figures are misleading, particularly with respect to actual Maori attitudes, feelings and behaviour.¹²

¹²There is a Maori distrust of Pakeha questionnaires. Also, Maoris, more than Pakehas, will retain traditional affiliational labels long beyond the time when they accurately reflect current practices and preferences. Thus, the decline in "Maori" religions is probably even greater than the figures suggest.

De Bres' investigation of Maori religious practices asserts that "Maori services do not appear to have the same appeal as in the not very distant past."¹³ He even suggests, contrary to the claim commonly made, that "the hypothesis that the Maori minister and the 'Maori Church' has a decisive effect on church attendance is no longer tenable."¹⁴

Perhaps one of the problems with so many attempts to introduce Maori elements to religious activities in the Christian Church is that the changes have been made by Pakehas as modifications in an otherwise western institution. This may be acceptable to Maoris who voluntarily accept many of the Pakeha cultural norms. But for other Maoris, something more is required.¹⁵ There is a need to work toward a Church where Maoris participate creatively in shaping the religious community they belong to.

What de Bres is arguing is that the weakening of "Maori Services" in terms of attractiveness to the people for whom they are designed, is a very recent development which has emerged since the late 1960s. What

¹³de Bres, p. 37.

¹⁴de Bres, p. 37.

¹⁵This is evident from Rakena's booklet which is discussed more fully in the next chapter.

he is further suggesting is that the Maori dissatisfaction with all traditional forms of religious expression, Maori and Pakeha alike, runs deeper than a simple comparison of methods and institutions. What is at issue is the whole approach to religion.

He argues that the Maori is interested in a different kind of religious observance and worship, one which is "incidental, irregular, with a special purpose in mind, with more play and offering more opportunity for his own initiative."¹⁶ This, he believes, is consistent with his contention that

the Maori is not favourably disposed toward participation in traditional church services or other public and formal religious activities at specific times in fixed places. ¹⁷

While de Bres has clearly focused on an important source of discontent with traditional forms, it should not be overlooked that, paradoxically, while Maoris do favour informal gatherings, they also appreciate very formal ceremonies, including those of the kind which are typical in traditional Anglican or Roman Catholic worship.

In summing up, it seems clear, overall, that traditional forms of religious expression do not command

¹⁶de Bres, p. 39.

¹⁷de Bres, p. 39.

the support of the Maori people in ways they once did, partly because they were formulated at different times and for different purposes. However, it would be a mistake to interpret this as indicative of a diminishing interest among Maoris in the expression of the Christian faith through the medium of Maori culture.

SUMMARY

A conscious policy of assimilation adopted in the last century has been officially abandoned in recent years in favour of integration. Integration is aimed at encouraging the development and expression of both cultural heritages and is dedicated to insuring that Maori and Pakeha have an equal share in the opportunities and responsibilities of citizenship.

Maori society is heterogeneous. There are many norms within it, some of which stand clearly contrasted to Pakeha values while others merge imperceptibly with them.¹⁸ Many Maoris, however, have been relatively assimilated and appear to be reasonably happy with predominantly western values and styles of Christian expression. However, the extent to which a so called "brown Pakeha" is assimilated may appear more total than is actually the case. This is partly because many Maoris

¹⁸The heterogeneity of Pakeha culture is also acknowledged!

are reticent about disagreeing with Pakehas in their presence and partly because, in many important respects, apparently westernised Maoris still retain a way of viewing reality which is distinctive of their own culture. However, it is fair to say that Maoris view the enterprise of finding distinctively Maori expressions of Christianity with varying degrees of enthusiasm, ranging from active support of the idea to complete indifference.

There is a declining interest in traditional Maori indigenous religions and an increased affiliation with Pakeha churches. However, there are also signs of dissatisfaction with both of these forms.

The 1970s appear to be, from available evidence, a transitional period, so that trends are difficult to discern. However, a significant interest emerging from some Maori Christian leaders is vested in fashioning a Maori response to the Gospel for our times. The indications are that this is a period of upheaval from which something genuinely creative will emerge. Chapter seven probes this prospect in greater depth.

Chapter 7

A MAORI EXPRESSION OF CHRISTIANITY: STRUCTURAL IMPLICATIONS

Even though one cannot accurately generalise about the Maori community, it is apparent that most Maoris characteristically begin from a distinct set of cultural assumptions in celebrating or expressing their Christian faith. The following chapter represents my understanding of what some of these assumptions are and the kind of Christian community they might produce.

FINDING THE FUNDAMENTAL FORMS

Traditionally, the Church, even with respect to the Maori people, has started from its western forms and sought, with varying degrees of seriousness to make adaptations, hoping in the process to make the Church more amenable to Maori needs and interests.

The following discussion starts from a different basis. It begins with the forms which are fundamental to Maori culture and enquires into what the Maori expression of Christianity would look like if it began within this framework.

This chapter will focus on three of the many features which would characterise this approach.

Hui

There seems to be some agreement on the fact that Maori social gatherings (hui) are a fundamental social category in Maori culture.¹ These gatherings exist to observe a wide variety of ceremonial occasions ranging from weddings to funerals, all of which are significant events for the Maori community. Hui are one of the places where the distinctive features of Maori cultural life are given their fullest expression. These gatherings are naturally inclined to have a religious dimension to them since social celebrations include religion as part of their essential structure.

The gatherings themselves are ordered around certain events and customary practices which are appropriate for each ceremony. The important thing about these events is that they occur in proper relation to each other. Traditional patterns of authority usually prevail on the marae. This means that elders have a special role as may religious leaders.

¹ Anne Salmond has based an anthropological study centred on hui as the most Maori category available. She calls this approach an "anthropology of occasions", see Hui (Wellington: Reed, 1975). De Bres asserts that "In Maori society, the social function of religious association takes precedence over the religious function and theological conceptions." De Bres, Religion in Aotearoa (Wellington: Polynesian Society, 1971), p. 48.

Many Pakeha Christians have been slow to recognise the marae (where hui usually occur) as the focus of significant religious experiences. In churches which have both Maori and Pakeha participants, there is still a tendency for the Pakehas to consider Sunday worship services as the central worship activity and events on the marae as "extras".

Forms for the Faith

The Methodist and Maori pastor, Ruawai Rakena comments on how the form for worship within the Maori Mission at present is derived, not from the Maori members themselves but from the Wesleyan Book of Common Prayer. He adds that any changes in the direction of a genuinely Maori approach will involve more than tinkering with the (Pakeha) system. Rather, "we need to relate worship to life in such a way that one becomes inconceivable without the other."²

Rakena proceeds to comment on the pre-European pattern of religious observance which, while devoid of Christian content was at least life-centred. However, with the advent of Christianity this was replaced by one which centred on the mission compound or the church.

He then borrows from an illustration used by Dr. Allan Tippet, developed in the context of the Solomon

²R. Rakena, The Maori Response to the Gospel (Auckland: Wesley Historical Society, 1971), p. 35.

Islands, claiming that it is pertinent to the Maori situation. The essence of Rakena's argument on this point is that the missionaries failed to furnish a "functional substitute" for the old Maori pattern of religious observance when they introduced the Christian Gospel.

Figure 1 below represents a classical traditional model where there is a direct, almost causal relation between the worshipper's address to the appropriate god which will in turn evoke that god's favour with respect to the particular activity it controls. Figure 2, while perhaps a stereo-type, indicates what tended to happen to Maori worship under the impact of a western model. God is related to the Church rather than the world. Figure 3 suggests that this wedge between God-in-the-world and God-in-the-Church can be overcome through a functional substitute for the traditional Maori pattern within a Christian context. The worship of God springs more from a natural social context (rather than a religious building one goes to) so that the link between God and life is once more restored in terms of God's needs. Rakena suggests that this is a useful model which would be more distinctively Maori and meet a genuine felt need in their community. In the functional substitute [figure 3] there would presumably need to be a more mature notion of providence than that which prevailed in traditional Maori religion or even in certain popular forms of Christianity.

Figure 1

Traditional Relationships with the gods

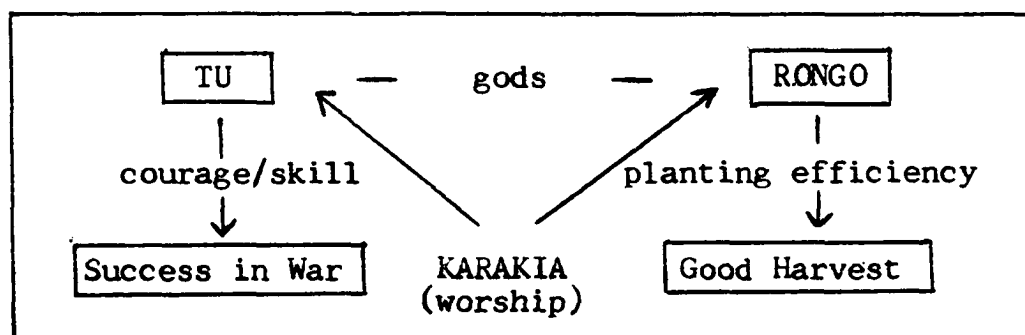


Figure 2

Western Pattern

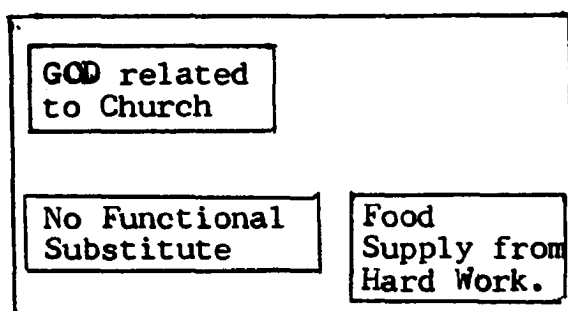
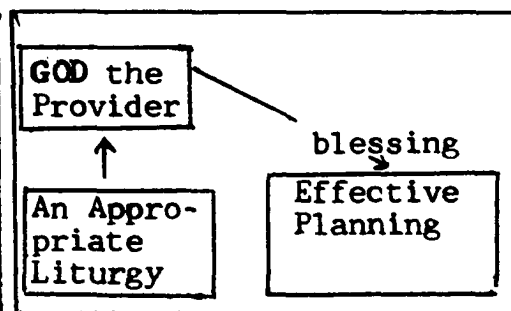


Figure 3

A "Functional Substitute" for the Traditional Way



Rakena, p. 36

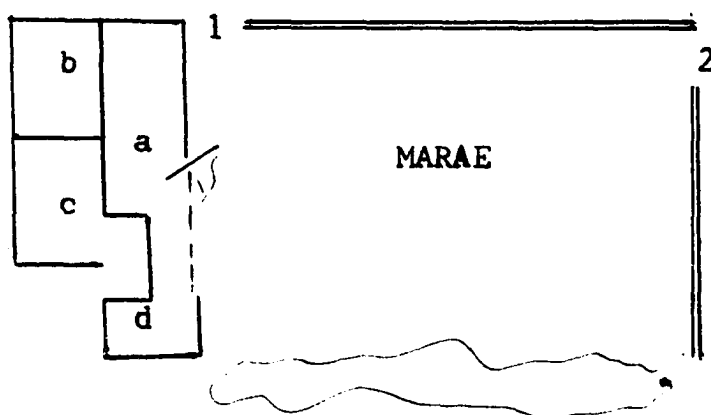
To my mind, Figure 3 would be strengthened further for Maori Christians by adopting the motif of Christ's incarnation as the concrete symbol of God-in-the-world. This prevents it from lapsing into the pantheism to which traditional Maori religion was prone while preventing it from becoming, in a modern context, a type of theism with a distant God.

Church buildings themselves would also reflect the social patterns revolving around the marae rather than the architectural styles of Europe. Figure 4 below is, in Rakena's own words,

an attempt...to fashion from the stuff of our common Maori-Pakeha life, a multi-purpose building complex in which specifically Maori architectural or art features are incorporated, not solely for their ornamental value, but because they have value for the basic concept and structure itself, and, at the same time, bring the place of worship into the centre of the community's total round of daily activities. 3

Figure 4

An Architectural Complex Centred on the Marae



Rakena, p. 36.

The marae is the focal point for social gatherings (which may include worship), communal means and other activities associated with hui.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| a] Hall. | 1] Access to sports ground. |
| b] Club rooms. | 2] Main access. |
| c] Dining Room. | |
| d] Centre for formal activities. | |

The Maori Understanding of Time

For the Maori, time is a "plastic medium that flows round and adapts itself to the activities of the day. The Maori time for anything is when you are ready for it."³

The Maori people do not equate time with the clock or the calendar in the western manner.⁴ This is to state a relative difference from Pakehas rather than an absolute one inasmuch as Maoris living in New Zealand society necessarily operate within the western temporal framework to a considerable extent.

Events tend to orient time. The hui, for instance, proceeds according to a sequence of events which are related to each other in a particular way. The time a particular event is permitted is the time it needs and events are less often scheduled for a certain hour than they are expected to follow when it is appropriate for them to proceed, in terms of the proper sequence.

This has implications for the celebration of the Christian faith. From the Maori standpoint, there is no particular reason why a church programme should be geared

³de Bres, p. 35.

⁴This description draws, to some extent, on J. Metge, The Maoris of New Zealand (London: Routledge, Kegan Paul, 1976), pp. 68-70.

to a weekly calendar, or even to worship on Sundays at 11 and 7. By contrast, it is significant that worship should occur at the appropriate time, namely, for instance, when there is a hui.

Maori time also affects how long a worship event might last. In Western churches, except those burdened with undisciplined preachers, worship lasts the proverbial hour. For the Maori, it should last as long as it takes, or perhaps more precisely, as long as is needed.

From this brief discussion, it is already clear that the Maori understanding of time lays the basis for a form of expressing Christian faith and activity which is different from anything familiar in Pakeha circles. Worship experiences would centre, particularly, on Maori ceremonial events and have less to do with the weekly timetable which runs Pakeha churches on time while it runs Pakeha Christians into the ground!

MAORI-PAKEHA RELATIONS IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH TODAY

If some Christians evolve a pattern of worship which is to some extent separate from Pakeha experience and practice and if these distinctive forms also effect the nature of the community's fellowship, what is the basis of unity in the New Zealand Church ? This question will be briefly discussed in this section.

The Tension between Separateness and Unity

New Zealand seems to be experiencing a transitional stage with respect to race relations. Unity has too often meant doing things the Pakeha way on the assumption that Pakeha models will prevail in the end. This has led some, particularly Maoris and Pakehas who have worked most closely with them, to speak of the need for separateness.⁵ As Mr Gnanasunderam emphasised in an interview with me, the kind of separateness which many Maoris are seeking is something quite different from an apartheid mentality.⁶ It is chosen by (not imposed upon) the people concerned and does not mean or imply a total lack of communication or association. It is an expedient through which a minority group can have room to affirm their identity more fully.

Those who advocate some degree of separateness are not rejecting the value of or need for inclusion.⁷

⁵H. Mol, Religion and Race in New Zealand (Christchurch: National Council of Churches, 1966), p. 9.

⁶Mr Gnanasunderam is the Director of the National Council of Churches Department of Church and Society in New Zealand.

⁷I am using Parson's definition of inclusion which embraces (1) equal civil rights, (2) "full sharing in the pursuit of the collective goals of the society" and (3) "equality of the resources and capacities necessary to make 'equal rights' into 'equal opportunities', Cited E. Schwimmer, (ed.), The Maori People in the Nineteen-Sixties (Auckland: Longman Paul, 1968), p. 11.

It is the fear, born of long experience, of being assimilated which makes many Maoris reticent about a narrowly uniform approach to the conduct of Church affairs in Pakeha institutions. Separateness, then, is a creative defence against this prospect. It is not, for most Maoris, a desire to be totally cut off from the Pakeha population.

Integration if understood along the lines set out by the Maori Synod of the Presbyterian Church [see above p. 88] involves a tension between separateness and inclusion. Cultural distinctiveness is affirmed while all groups share in the benefits and responsibilities of being members of the community.

Thus, when unity is discussed, it must be understood that union does not mean the elimination of differences, but rather the acknowledgement that the Church is "one body with many members". Diversity within the Church has the capacity to enrich its life. If, however, the diverse elements are compressed into an artificial unity, the whole organism of the Church will become stale and sterile, lacking the kind of creative tensions which sustain its life and lend it vitality.

Perhaps the best example of this creative tension between separateness and unity is reflected in a sermon given by the Rev. Rakena while opening a new community project in 1974. He reported that in Kimiora (this new community) each member would be valued for him or herself

and individual differences would be respected and provided for. In Kimiora, he said,

there will be a place for the old, the middle-aged and the young; for the manuhiri (guests) and the Tangata-whenua (hosts - but see footnote); for the artist and craftsman; for those pursuing sporting interests and a place for the Pakeha. 8

Kimiora was described as a Maori creation and one which they would retain the responsibility to sustain. But it was not for their use alone.

Different needs, therefore, are recognised within the context of the one community. This is not substantially different to the present practice of the Church which recognises divergent needs based on age, interests and other variables. Sometimes these lead to contrasted perceptions of what the Church should be or how it should celebrate its faith. Here, it seems, this sort of flexibility requires extension to embrace variations which may have a cultural basis among others.

The crucial goal is to develop a form of fellowship which promotes meaningful relationships while respecting differences.

It will not be attainable while some members (usually Pakehas) are symbols of a power structure which

⁸Cited in Metge, p. 316. Tangata whenua literally means "people attached to a particular place (piece of land) through lineage." In this context, the expression is idiomatic, meaning "our place" or "our ground".

continues to discriminate against Maoris in subtle ways. Indeed, Pakehas are still favoured by the terms of that power structure.

It will be enhanced to the extent that the structure of relationships between ~~the~~ races fosters mutuality and reciprocity rather than paternalism on the part of Pakehas and subservience on the part of Maoris.

There is already a shared cultural heritage in New Zealand which functions as a bridge of common concerns over and beyond differences.

The key image, helpful to this discussion, is found in St. Paul's metaphor of the body and the members. In it, differences are seen not as a source of division but as the elements which together comprise the whole. They are created to respect rather than usurp one another's functions. None is indispensable and yet none is self sufficient. Individually they are incomplete while together they can realise their corporate goal which is to be the visible symbol of Christ's presence in the world. At this point, the multi-racial church is better equipped to reach out beyond itself to the wider community in which it stands, while enriching the quality of its own fellowship.

SUMMARY

This chapter has followed the cue given by some Maori spokespersons who want the forms for the Maori expression of Christianity to spring from the distinctive structural features of Maori life. It is recognised that this vision is the creation of some Maoris rather than the express goal of all. However, it does seem to offer an important clue to what a Church giving fuller expression to Maori identity might look like in the future.

Freedom to develop uniquely Maori styles of celebrating Christianity implies a degree of separateness. However, this does not pre-empt the importance of shared concerns within the Church which transcend cultural differences without eliminating them.

Differences are seen as the Spirit's gift to the churches and are to be used creatively within the Christian community while enhancing its contribution to the society in which it stands.

This chapter has sought to suggest a basis for the resolution of the problem addressed in this project. However, its focus was confined to the Church. In the following chapter, the discussion expands to include the society as a whole. It is here that the problem raises questions of power and justice as well as identity.

Chapter 8

IDENTITY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

There are many ways in which the structure of New Zealand society subtly deprives Maoris of a just share in the opportunities and responsibilities of being a New Zealand citizen. This is an issue which should concern the Church. This discussion can, at best, hope to point up some of the important issues which require more detailed investigation beyond the scope of this project.

BEYOND THE SYMPTOMS

It is not hard to locate the symptoms of discrimination against Maoris in New Zealand society.

It is widely recognised, for instance, that most Maoris will leave school earlier than Pakeha teenagers and with fewer qualifications.

If a pupil is a Pakeha, he will, in three cases out of four go through to 5th form. There is a two out of five chance that he will obtain School Certificate, Endorsed School Certificate or better. There is a 9.3% chance that he will go from school to the opportunity of University.

If he is a Maori, there is one chance out of two that he will give up the struggle before he reaches form 5. He has one chance in twelve of ever gaining School Certificate and one in ninety

of going to University.¹

Maoris, too, seem to get into trouble with the law to an extent which is disproportionate with their representation in the total population. This is evident, even when allowances are made (as they should be) for certain ambiguities in the statistical data.²

One could provide similar data from other areas of life. It is not uncommon for New Zealanders to conclude, after a cursory survey of such "evidence" that there is certainly a "Maori problem". Their prescription for Maori failure in schools is harder study. Their solution to Maori crime is to call for strengthened police control in trouble spots around the country.

What is missing in this assessment of the situation is a recognition that statistics like those cited above are merely symptoms of a deeper problem. It is as much society's difficulty as it is an issue to be resolved by the Maoris themselves. What is required, is an approach which moves beyond treatment to prevention.

One example of a prevention approach which is currently operating with clergy participation is the

¹ "Maori Education - An Interim Report by the New Zealand Post-Primary Teachers Association" (Wellington: 1970), p. 1.

² J. Metge, The Maoris of New Zealand (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976), pp. 214-15.

use of so called "J Teams". These were first used in 1971. They are usually comprised of one law enforcement official and two welfare persons, one of which is sometimes a clergyperson. They do not wear uniforms or make arrests. The Police Department supplies them with a radio car for night work. Sometimes they follow up cases for the Police. More often they work independently, producing a monthly report to the Police Department.

Their primary role is prevention. They move around in known trouble spots, often well into the early hours of the morning. They seek to defuse potentially explosive situations before these erupt into crises involving clashes with the Police.

The key point about these "Teams" is that they have official backing while yet building and sustaining the confidence of the people they deal with in the streets. As such, they function as a channel of communication. They can also follow up cases which begin on the streets thus putting them in touch with persons or families in need.

As an example of the prevention approach, they offer a positive contribution to the problem they deal with. However, while retaining this kind of service, there is an important sense in which the roots of the problem are deeper still. They reside in the very structures of the society itself.

BEYOND MONOCULTURALISM

As the analysis goes deeper, it becomes apparent that one of the root sources of the problem is the minority status of the Maori. Most of New Zealand's institutions and structures tend toward a monocultural bias, without sufficient sensitivity to significant cultural minorities within the country.

Education

Metge has focused on the monocultural assumptions behind the system of schooling in New Zealand. The theories of child development on which the system is based along with the formulation of the aims of education are fashioned in conformity with the assumptions of Western societies. When pupils are tested or have their intelligence measured, there is a strong accent on verbal skills. Reading material has, on the whole, been foreign to the Maori's experience, although some improvements have occurred recently.

Above all, the school system as mediated through curricula and teachers, emphasises the values of individuality, competition, self-discipline, restraint, striving for distant goals, and abstract expression. Yet before they start school and throughout their years there, Maori children are socialised in homes communities and peer groups which value sociability and solidarity with peers and family above individu-

ality, co-operation above competition and physical and social achievements above purely intellectual. 3

Language

Under the impact of colonisation, New Zealand slowly changed from a nation where Maori predominated to one where English was the norm. As early as 1847 the British Governor declared that Maoris must become bi-lingual (that is, they must learn English). In 1867, the Education Act eliminated the bi-lingual system at the expense of Maori. Learning or even speaking Maori was severely discouraged well into this century.

The long road toward the rehabilitation of Maori began in 1925 when it was offered as a language unit for the B.A. degree. In 1929, Maori became a subject for University Entrance examinations and by 1945, it could be taken for School Certificate.⁴ Meanwhile, in 1931, it became compulsory in the Maori Colleges while also appearing in the District High Schools. Ever since the 1960s, however, has the Education Department fully abandoned all pressures discouraging Maori in schools.

Of course, official policy did not succeed in totally eliminating the use of Maori, especially in the

³Metge, p. 156.

⁴School Certificate is a national examination New Zealanders take at age 15. University Entrance follows a year later for those who seek it.

home.⁵ However, the history of the official policy toward Maori illustrates an assimilationist approach and is strongly monocultural in tone.

Language is more than a means of communication. It is the key to a culture. In a truly multi-cultural society, multi-lingualism should be encouraged. It may be, as Ralph Piddington has argued, that the Maori language may "assume new functions". He ventures the opinion that it may "cease to be a general medium of communication and assume a quasi-sacred character as a means of ceremonial expression."⁶ He feels that it may become an art which every educated leader will be expected to acquire and is confident that, for some considerable time to come, anyone hoping to exercise effective leadership in the Maori community will require it.

It has to be said that the Church's record in respecting the significance of the Maori language outruns that of secular institutions, including the Universities, whose interest in this area is relatively recent. Moreover, it was the early missionaries, particularly Kendall and the Williams brothers, who pioneered the effort which made Maori

⁵Metge, p. 96.

⁶R. Piddington, "Emergent Development and Integration", in E. Schwimmer, (ed.), The Maori in the Nineteen-Sixties (Auckland: Longman Paul, 1968), p.267.

into a written language.

Crime

The justice system, too, reflects the values of the Pakeha majority (which is reasonable) while remaining largely unresponsive to the Maori minority (which is not).

The monocultural bias against Maoris is most evident with respect to property offences and stems, in large measure, from the conflict between communal and private approaches to property. As Metge points out, Maoris do not, as Pakehas commonly charge, disregard rights of possession but simply define them less exclusively than white New Zealanders are prone to.⁷

Cultural difficulties also emerge in the encounter between Maoris and officials concerned with the law. Te Punga has explained that

the first thing is to get [the Maori's] confidence and respect because until [he] is sure that you are genuinely interested in him as a person, he will give you the answers he thinks you want to hear. In many cases, when you think he is lying he thinks he is being polite by agreeing with everything you say. ⁸

Confession also has special significance in the Maori community where it is characteristically viewed

⁷Metge, p. 217.

⁸R. Te Punga, "Maoris and Crime" in W.A. McKean, (ed.), Essays in Race Relations and the Law in New Zealand (Wellington: Sweet and Maxwell, 1971), pp 48-9.

as "part of the expiation that secures reacceptance into the community."⁹

Clearly, there is a need here to move beyond monoculturalism. It is a precondition of justice for the Maori. Proper respect for the significance of the Maori language is a means of taking Maori culture seriously. Education and Justice systems which develop some sensitivity to cultural variations among the people who use them are essential if Maoris are to participate more fully in the opportunities and responsibilities of New Zealand life.

BEYOND INDIVIDUALISM

There is, as was observed earlier, [above p. 80] a need for Maoris and Pakehas to meet each other at depth. Without negating the importance of this, it remains true that an individualistic approach is not enough in itself when it comes to securing social justice for all persons in our society, including Maoris.

Reinhold Niebuhr has observed that "The creed of individualism may lead to enslavement of individuals by powerful men and groups because it discourages adequate social checks upon their power."¹⁰ He proceeds to remind readers

⁹Te Punga, p. 49. [Roy Te Punga is a Maori and is now Assistant Director of the Department of Social Welfare].

¹⁰R. Niebuhr, Reflections at the End of an Era (New York: Scribner's, 1934), p. 99.

that the individual draws sustenance "from his organic relation to his social group, his family, his craft and his community."¹¹

The focus on the emotional significance of this network of social relationships is important. . It ought not to be overlooked that the Maori already have a superior access to these resources in terms of their kinship system and their accent on corporate values. A multi-cultural perspective will seek to insure that this organic network of persons is not destroyed by the secularising pressures of Pakeha society.

In encouraging a proper respect for the corporate nature of power, Niebuhr offers a corrective to religious pietism. Pietism tends to place the accent on the individual, on "saving souls", on withdrawing into a sect-type community and on religious experience as against community involvement. It argues that we must postpone any expectations of a changed social order until sufficient numbers of individuals have been transformed by the Gospel. Their religious conversion will, so the argument runs, renovate the society automatically. The problem with this is that many of the corporate structures of modern society have a power which is greater than the aggregated influence of the individuals who comprise them.

¹¹Niebuhr, p. 99.

Moreover, pietism is inclined to withdraw from political involvements, or even community programmes. Participants operate instead within a miniature community which may be genuinely supportive and helpful in terms of personal growth deepened by the spiritual dimension. But, in the last analysis, Maoris must attend our schools and compete for work in the open job market. They must live within laws formulated in the legislature and local councils while they must abide by the rulings of our courts. To the extent that this larger community is unresponsive to the distinctive needs of the Maori community (or any other group for that matter), Christians cannot remain unconcerned or uninvolved.

BEYOND PHILANTHROPY

The missionaries operated effectively as philanthropists. In the context of English society, as in New Zealand, the philanthropists sought to offer a humane response to people in need without creating social upheaval. In fact, often, charitable gestures were explicitly designed to blunt the discontent of the oppressed and to forestall revolution. Philanthropy and political conservatism often went hand in hand.

As Niebuhr has written, "there are only rare instances in the history of philanthropy in which generosity became so heedless as to reduce the benefactor to

the level of power and privilege of his beneficiaries."¹²

He is inclined to feel that too many charitable efforts are inspired by moral sentiment which is

an oil which reduces the frictions of a given system of social relationships but it changes the relationships only in the rarest instances. It is like the tides of the sea which take off the edges of the pebbles of the beach but leave the cliffs standing. ¹³

Apart from its failure to deal with the source of the problem of injustice, philanthropy has a paternalistic basis. It often has an inadequate regard for the personhood and dignity of the people it works with. The urgent need is to move beyond charity to the structural renovation of relationships in New Zealand society. The primary goal, in terms of desired change, is to produce a social order where community structures and institutions have a sensitivity to minority cultural needs built into them.

An illustration of the kinds of changes which are desirable and possible can be found in an experiment conducted in connection with Maoris and the court system. The experiment, conducted in Nelson, New Zealand, focused on the lack of adequate counsel as a factor in

¹²Niebuhr, p. 233.

¹³Niebuhr, p. 232.

the high conviction rate among Maoris compared with Pakehas.¹⁴

Between 1968 and 1970, it was found that 86.7% of non-Maoris had lawyers with them in court compared with 44.5% of Maori offenders. Part of the problem was traceable to an inadequate understanding on the part of Maoris as to how the court system functioned.

A Nelson group designed an experiment in which they offered free legal aid to Maori offenders. Over 95% accepted this service. The results in 1972, under the influence of this experiment, were that the number of "guilty" pleas entered by Maoris declined, cases against Maori defendants were dismissed, imprisonment of Maoris was down by one third, sentences to probation were drastically reduced from 17% in 1971 to 5% in 1972. The number of defendants who were simply fined almost doubled. In sum, there was an imprisonment rate for Maoris which was actually lower than for non-Maoris. The researchers were "unaware that this has ever been true of any other court in New Zealand before." They added that the matter was more complex than simply producing counsel. For

...the inequalities will persist until such time as this and other Pakeha-dominated institutions in New Zealand are demolished and a new society

¹⁴The following account is based on a report by J. North, "Spotlight on Maoris in Court", New Zealand Baptist (June 1973), 16-17.

created jointly by and serving the needs of all ethnic groups in the community is achieved. 15

SUMMARY

The struggle for identity experienced by many Maoris in New Zealand today ultimately engages them in the pursuit of justice. In the long run, this necessitates the acquisition of power. Although many Maoris have acquired positions of influence in the community and the nation, a significant proportion remain powerless to shape their destiny. What is particularly serious about this condition is that the system perpetuates it.

Since Maoris succeed in the schools only against enormous odds, their chances of capitalising on opportunities or exercising significant influence in the society are severely diminished. These hard facts supply the symptoms which many New Zealanders use as "evidence" of the "Maori problem". And yet, they are an indictment less of Maoris than of the social order which Pakehas control and have the power to change.

Accordingly, it must be recognised that symptoms point beyond themselves to deeper needs. In meeting these needs, the root problem is the monocultural structure

of the institutions of New Zealand society. The remedy is to establish multi-cultural replacements.

This is a goal which cannot be realised by the simple improvement of individual relationships. Nor will it be automatically attained by a Gospel which focuses exclusively on saving souls. For there is no convincing evidence to suggest that the churches with the fastest numerical growth and the most visible signs of spiritual activity translate their faith into social concern or community involvement.

On the contrary, the corporate sources of power which sustain the monocultural system must be met by a powerful corporate counterforce which works toward culturally sensitive institutions. This means that Christians must organise to become active politically in order to realise the full manifestation of God's Kingdom.

Moreover, philanthropy is inadequate because it does not bring substantial change in relationships between the helpers and the helped. It is also based on paternalism. Indeed, significant progress toward social justice for the Maori can only be made when Pakehas work with Maoris rather than for them.

All this requires a revolution in attitudes among Christians. But if the problem addressed in this project is to be overcome, nothing less is adequate.

Chapter 9

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This project set out to explore the problem presented by a New Zealand Church which has been, and to some extent still is, insufficiently responsive to the Maori's need for social justice, self-determination and cultural identity.

The pivotal issue has been Maori cultural identity and how the presence, first of the missionaries and subsequently of the Christian Church has impacted that identity. The root cause of the problem according to my research has been, and continues to be, the assumption of monoculturalism which has formed the basis for most interactions between Maori and Pakeha. The goal, therefore, has been to argue a case for the establishment within the Church and the recognition within the society of the multi-cultural reality of New Zealand society.

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

The initial clue to the presence of the problem emerged from my historical analysis. Three themes stood out in particular.

First, missionaries pursued a policy which taught the Maori to oppose the Christian Gospel to their own

culture. The missionaries fought Maori culture with the weapon of the Gospel. The Maoris ultimately retaliated by directing the Maori cultural renaissance against the Pakeha form of the Christian faith. The negative valuation of Maori culture which the missionaries encouraged has lingered on into the present so that Christianisation and Westernisation are still related developments in the minds of some contemporary Christians. There are signs that this attitude is changing. Certainly the Church must hasten the demise of this relic of cultural imperialism.

A second, more subtle, attempt to devalue Maori culture may be seen in the persistent pattern of benevolent intent tempered by paternalism. Traces of paternalism remain, particularly where people might least recognise it - in charitable gestures directed at improving Maori welfare. The benevolent demeanor of paternalism masks its implied criticism of Maori culture. Because it is indirect, it is harder to fight and eliminate. The problem with paternalism and philanthropy resides in the structure of the relationships between the races. The casualty in these relationships is the self-respect of the beneficiaries. A related problem is that charitable benevolence is a stop-gap approach to the problem which fails to grasp the fundamental issues. It provides the Maori with his or her needs but it does not develop the

conditions necessary to enable Maoris to meet their own needs and shape their own destiny. Paternalism, in the last analysis, tries to keep unequal social structures alive by keeping underprivileged groups tolerably happy. It opposes any radical structural changes.

A third major theme revealed in my historical analysis is the progressive institutionalisation of the monocultural assumptions that came with the earliest missionaries and settlers. This is apparent in the elimination of the bi-lingual system at the expense of Maori, in the policy of assimilation which lasted for over one hundred years, in the education system tailored to serve Pakeha ends by Pakeha means and in a legal system insufficiently responsive to cultural variations from the Pakeha norm. It is even evident in the tendency to "meet" Maori requirements within the Church by modifications in what remained a predominantly Western institution.

CONTEMPORARY LEGACIES

As monoculturalism became progressively institutionalised into the structures of New Zealand society and the New Zealand Church, it became apparent that only radical structural and institutional changes can resolve the problem.

Accordingly, Chapter 7 argued that we must think less in terms of modifying the Church to accomodate Maori cultural styles and increasingly in terms of starting from

a new basis altogether. Following my understanding of what some Maori Church leaders are advocating, I have suggested that monoculturalism cannot be eliminated by merely tinkering with Pakeha forms. What is required is a Church within which there is freedom for Maoris to build a distinctive expression of the Christian Gospel from the structural bases of their own culture.

THE LINE FROM IDENTITY TO JUSTICE

My research into the historical and contemporary sources of the problem persistently raised questions of social justice for the Maori. Investigation in the earliest period of Maori-missionary contact evoked the response that it cannot be right to require a people to repudiate all their heritage for any cause, least of all the Christian Gospel. The issues raised by the Colonial Wars in the 1860s and the indigenous cults which appeared simultaneously reinforced this impression.

Then, as the focus of the analysis moved to the contemporary scene, I found identity and justice once again inseparably related. For, increasingly, the problem has not been identity as such, but whether or not the Maori can experience his or her Maoriness as something positive, welcomed, respected and significant in the Church and the society.

Education is a case in point. Maori children begin by experiencing the values of their home as positive and reassuring. However, once they commence school and experience the struggle of trying to live in a society programmed to serve Pakeha culture, a new set of impressions emerges. The liabilities of Maoriness become apparent. Silently, the system begins to tell them that to be a Maori is to labour against greater odds in school than to be a Pakeha. An implicit negative valuation of their culture begins to seep into their consciousness. The Maori adult typically, therefore, copes with the accumulated legacy of struggling in a Pakeha school system as well as the social order which, on the whole, is less amenable to his or her culture than it is to the Pakeha's.

The only compelling answer, it seems to me, is to re-structure society, including (indeed especially) the school system so that Maoris can begin to develop the basis upon which they can acquire power to shape their destiny. This translates into a recommendation that the institutions in New Zealand society must be transformed so that they rest, not on a monocultural foundation but rather on the multi-cultural reality which exists in the nation.

This goal must be given initial impetus from what Reinhold Niehbuhr has called "imaginative justice" which "leads beyond equality to a consideration of the special needs of the life of the other."¹ The legacy of monoculturalism can not be eliminated overnight. Therefore, interim measures are required which give Maoris (and other underprivileged groups for that matter) special provisions to make up for lost time.²

This project has focused primarily on the structural sources of the problem as evidenced in paternalism and monoculturalism. It has also assumed that structural renovation is the only resolution of the problem which will create the conditions necessary for Maori identity to be experienced as something positive by the whole community (and not just the Maori community).³ It is the only basis upon which lasting justice for the Maori can permanently stand.

However, I have not wanted to undermine the vital importance of personal relationships between Maori and

¹G.W. Forell, (ed.), Christian Social Teachings (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1971), p. 385.

²For example it makes no sense to give the average Polynesian child the same treatment as the average Pakeha child when they start school. For one has already been exposed to the language and values which will prevail in the school far more, on average, than the other.

³Of course Maoris experience their culture negatively too when they find it penalises their progress in society.

Pakeha. Rather I have sought to show that such relationships are not enough in themselves. But they are important. Moreover, it may only be when Pakehas encounter Maoris at depth that they begin to appreciate them and their culture. And perhaps this appreciation and increased understanding will motivate Pakehas to initiate changes in the social order. Similarly, it may only be when Maoris become deeply acquainted with Pakehas as persons, that they recognise that many whites bear no deliberate malice toward them but are merely products of a system which they have never bothered to question.

THE STUBBORN QUESTION OF MOTIVATION

This leads us to consider the question of how New Zealanders can be motivated to make the changes which I consider to be necessary.

In part, it has been my belief that one of the obstacles to change is simply lack of awareness. Many Pakehas flow along in the mainstream of their culture without really recognising what it is like to struggle as a minority culture. To the extent that unawareness is an issue, I hope this project will have value as a consciousness raising document. Underlying this hope is an implicit faith in the educational process and the willingness of people to learn and change.

But I would be naïve if I believed that this was sufficient in itself. In going beyond education as an adequate stimulant to change, I am moving beyond a purely humanistic approach to the problem, and toward the resources of the Christian Gospel. For there are two factors which a solely rational analysis and hope overlooks yet which the Judeo-Christian tradition supplies.

The first of these is a realistic assessment of human nature which recognises that resistance to justice often flows from irrational impulses beneath the level of reason. Prejudice, by definition, is irrational because it involves a pre-judgement before viewing the evidence. The realism of Christianity is its appreciation of the reality of Sin which breaks up what should be whole and separates what should be together. A resolution of the problem therefore awaits, beyond education, a challenge to people to expose their lives to the Spirit of God which draws their deepest impulses away from exclusive self-regard toward an appreciation of others' needs.

This is the point at which the second resource of the Judeo-Christian tradition becomes operational. It generates a vision which seeks to capture people's imagination as well as their minds. It projects a vision of love which is not a product of pity but of a respect for others sufficient to take them seriously as persons irrespective of the ways in which they might be different from

us. The vision delivers judgement by confronting people with the difference between the real and the ideal; between the deification of one culture above others and the recognition of all cultures as relative before Christ. The plumbline of God's justice betrays the crookedness of the monocultural wall which leans toward one people at the expense of others. And yet the vision also generates forgiveness which symbolises the power which enables relationships to be restored, in spite of the things which have kept them apart.

In the most concrete form, the vision appropriate to this project is, as I have commented earlier, the Pauline metaphor which has the Body of Christ dependent, not upon uniformity of members but on their diversity. It finds all members to be essential to the function of the whole as they offer their own unique contribution. It finds none to be expendable.

THE ONE AND THE MANY

We are, therefore, left with the contemporary application of that metaphor as the symbol which has the power to overcome the problem we began with. That is, in secular terminology, we are left with multi-culturalism as the goal. The value of multi-culturalism is that it fosters inclusion without absorption, participation

without conformity, unity in diversity and separateness without isolation. In a monocultural society the price of participation for minority groups is one's own identity. In a multi-cultural society or church, pluralism is affirmed, not merely as a necessity but also as an asset.

With respect to the multi-cultural Church, there is diversity among members, but a unity of purpose. There are many different peoples, yet they are one People. For they uniformly acknowledge the Spirit of God as the source and aim of their life. Christ shapes and judges the cultural style of their living not from the standpoint of one culture judging others but from a reference point beyond culture altogether.

This project has sought to define and illustrate a problem. It has elaborated on the problem's importance and suggested a basis for its resolution. But one thing it cannot provide is the willingness to act. For this, each person must examine his or her own conscience and measure the gap between the requirements of Christian discipleship and the present performance of the Church.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

GLOSSARY OF MAORI TERMS

<u>Hau Hau</u>	"Hau" - literally "wind" or "spirit" in this context, the religious movement.
<u>Hui</u>	Maori social gatherings, usually held on the <u>marae</u> .
<u>Io</u>	The name given to the Supreme Maori deity by a group of elders in the 1860s.
<u>Mana</u>	Difficult to define precisely. A combination of authority, power and status. Sometimes also refers to psychic power.
<u>Maori</u>	The name collectively referring to the indigenous Polynesian people of New Zealand.
<u>Maoritanga</u>	The term Maoris use in preference to "Maori Culture".
<u>Marae</u>	Maori meeting place - usually a complex comprising some buildings and an adjacent outdoor area for people to gather.
<u>Pakeha</u>	New Zealanders of European descent. The term was first applied to them in the early nineteenth century.
<u>Papahurihia</u>	Literally "one who relates wonders" referring to the founder of the movement by the same name. The movement was the first of the resistance cults and appeared in the 1830s.
<u>Ratana</u>	The name of the founder of the twentieth century Maori religious movement which bears his name. It was established in 1918 and has become a significant political force since the Depression.
<u>Ringatu</u>	Maori religious movement which evolved out of Hau Hauism in the wake of the Colonial Wars of the 1860s.
<u>Tapu</u>	Something (or someone) sacred or unclean - subject to religious prohibition. Similar to the more general term "taboo".

APPENDIX B

TIME CHART OF MAJOR HISTORICAL EVENTS

A.D. c 950-1400	Probable period of major Polynesian migrations to New Zealand.
1642	First European explorer, Abel Tasman (Dutch) "discovers" New Zealand.
1769	James Cook's explorations of New Zealand begins the modern period of European contact with New Zealand.
1769-1813	Increasing contact of European explorers, traders, whalers and sealers.
1814	Samuel Marsden inaugurates the first Christian Mission to New Zealand, on behalf of the Church Missionary Society [Anglican]
1822	First Methodist missionary, Samuel Leigh, arrives.
1823/5	Arrival of the Revs Henry/William Williams-brothers who were to be major figures in mission work in New Zealand.
1839	Wakefield's colonisation scheme in New Zealand is launched despite opposition of the British Government.
1840	British Government reluctantly annexes New Zealand in the hope of regulating relations between the settlers and the Maoris. The Treaty of Waitangi is drawn up as a formal declaration of Government policy in Maori-settler relations.
1852	Constitution establishes Representative Self-Government in New Zealand. British Governor retains responsibility for native affairs until 1864, however.
1860s	Colonial Wars between settlers and Maoris.
1876	Maoris given separate representation in the General Assembly - four seats.